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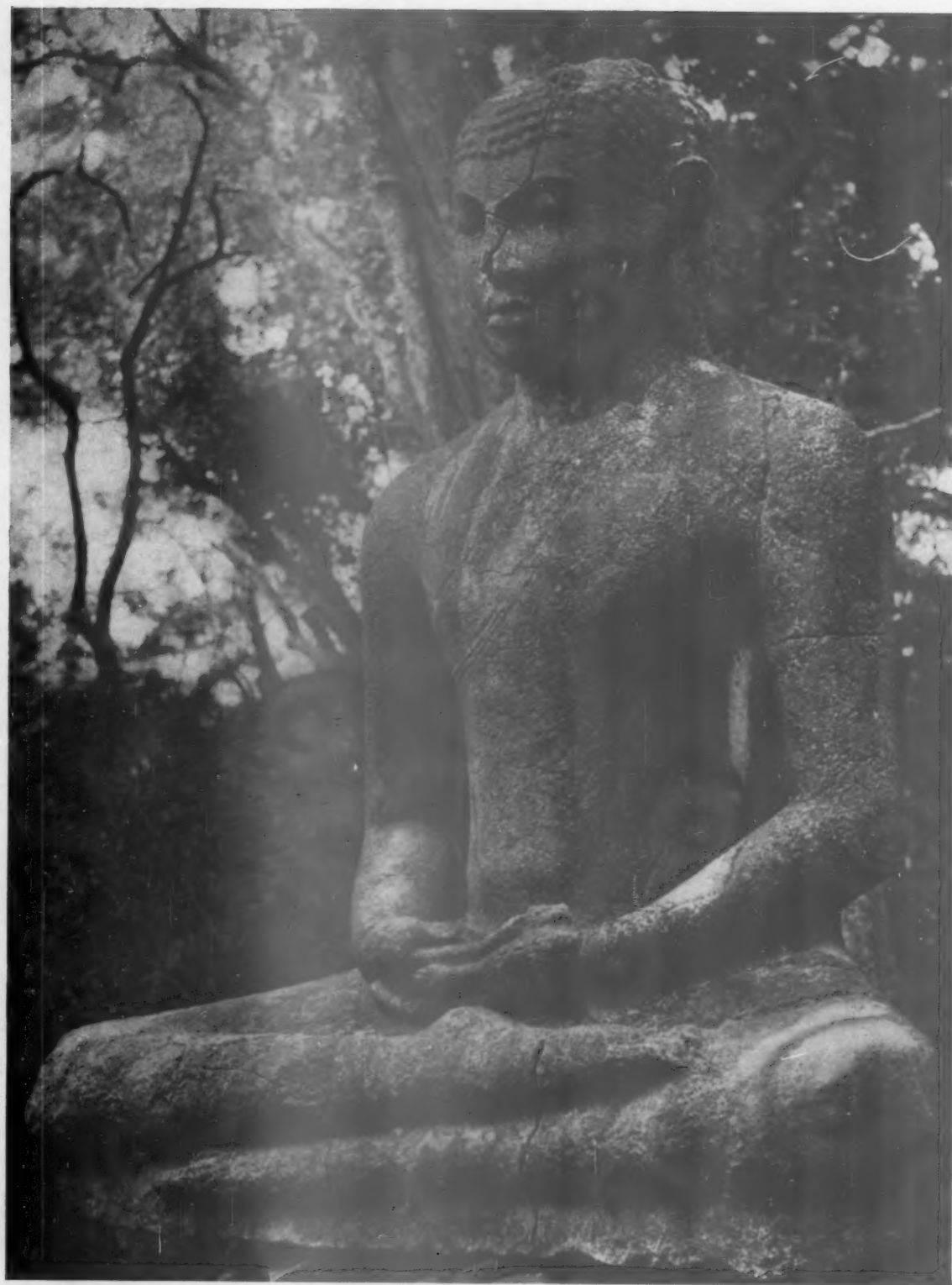
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1—*Typical Buddha Figure. Anurādhapura. C. IV Cent. A. D.*

THE ORIGIN OF THE BUDDHA IMAGE*

BY ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

"Nothing beyond what is self-developed in the brain of a race is permanently gained, or will survive the changes of time."

—FLINDERS PETRIE, in *Social Life in Ancient Egypt*

INTRODUCTION

THE question of the origin of the Buddha image is, of course, but a part of the general problem of the origin of Indian iconography and plastic types. In view of the thoroughly Indian character of mediaeval works it was natural in the first place to suppose that these types had been created and developed on Indian soil, and by Indian sculptors. This might well have seemed most obvious in the case of the Buddha figure, representing as it does, a conception of spiritual attainment altogether foreign to European psychology, and a formula quite un-European in its indifference to natural fact.

But it was soon realized, on the one hand, that the Buddha (Gautama, Śākya-Muni), in early Indian art, say before the first century A. D., is never represented in human form but only by symbols; and, on the other hand, that the Graeco-Buddhist or Indo-Hellenistic art of Gandhāra in the period immediately following presents us with an innumerable series of anthropomorphic images, certainly with some peculiarities of their own, but resembling in a general way the later Gupta and mediaeval images of India proper, not to speak of those of Farther India and the Far East. At once it was taken for granted that the idea of making such images had been suggested to the Indian mind from this outside source, and that Greek or at any rate Eurasian craftsmen had created the first images of the Buddha for Indian patrons on the foundation of a Hellenistic Apollo; and that the later images were not so much Indian as Indianized versions of the Hellenistic or, as it was more loosely expressed, Greek prototypes. This view was put forward, as M. Foucher himself admits, in a manner best calculated to flatter the prejudices of European students and to offend the susceptibilities of Indians: the creative genius of Greece had provided a model which had later been barbarized and degraded by races devoid of true artistic instincts, to whom nothing deserving the name of fine art could be credited.

From the standpoint of orthodox European scholarship the question was regarded as settled, and all that remained was to work out the details, a study which was undertaken by the founder of the theory in his already classic *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, and continued by Grünwedel and others, with this result at least, that the art of Gandhāra is now very thoroughly known. When, a little later, doubts were expressed from various quarters external to the circle of orthodox scholarship, doubts suggested rather by stylistic and *a priori* psychological considerations, than by purely archacological evidence, M. Foucher, the author most committed to the Greek theory, did not hesitate to suggest in

*In order to get a large amount of comparative material together on the plates, short and incomplete captions have

been printed there. A fuller record of the illustrations will be found in the list appended to the article,

his genial way that in the case of European students, these doubts were only the result of aesthetic prejudice, in the case of Indian students, of nationalist rancour ("engouement d'aesthéticien ou rancune de nationaliste").¹

Times have changed. I cannot better indicate the nature of this change than by a quotation from Mr. Dalton's recent work on *East Christian Art*: "The principles governing this Christian art have received their due; that which the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries refused to consider has been regarded with favouring eyes. Thus aid has come from another side to those who have striven to combat the erroneous view that Early Christian art was nothing more than classical art in decadence. The very features for which Hellenistic art was once praised are now condemned as its worst. . . . In no other field of research have archaeology and criticism better helped each other to overcome ungenerous tradition." If the echoes of the battle on this front, "*Orient oder Rom*," are still to be heard, at any rate we no longer confuse the qualities of Hellenistic and Hellenic art; the deserved prestige of the latter no longer protects the former from destructive criticism.

In view of these facts, which it would be almost superfluous to recapitulate, were it not for the peculiar attitude assumed by the author of the Greek theory and his followers, it should now be possible to discuss the subject calmly and to substitute argument for rhetoric. However this may be, I propose to outline here the evidences that exist to support the more obvious, but not therefore necessarily erroneous, theory of the Indian origin of the Buddha image in particular and of Indian iconography generally. Need I protect myself by saying that I do not mean by this to deny the existence of foreign elements and influences traceable in Indian art? I do mean, however, to imply that the proper time and place for their study and analysis is after, and not before, we have achieved a general understanding of the internal development of the art. The matter is of importance, not because the existence of foreign elements in any art (they exist in all arts) is not of great aesthetic significance, but just because when too much stress is laid upon this significance, the way to a clear apprehension of the general development of the art is obscured.² The subject has bulked already far too largely in the literature of Indian

1. To this, and numerous other remarks by M. Foucher in the same vein, sometimes more suggestive of propaganda than of sober science, I might well reply in the recent words of Dr. Salmony (*Die Rassenfrage in der Indienforschung*, in *Sozialistischen Monatshefte*, Heft 8, 1926) "*Man darf ruhig sagen: Das europäische Urteil wurde bisher durch den Drang nach Selbstbehauptung verfälscht.*" In scientific writings, references to the nationality of those who do not or may not agree with us are not always in the best of taste; not all of M. Foucher's eloquence can make them gracious, and in any case they are no good substitute for reasoned argument.

As a matter of fact, Indian (and Japanese) scholars have shown a singular humility, and perhaps some timidity, in their ready acceptance of all the results of European scholarship; see, for example, Gauranganath Banerjee, *The Art of Gandhara*, and Hellenism in Ancient India. Most of those who have expressed doubts regarding the Foucher theory have been European (Havell, Cohn, Laufer, Goloubew, Sirén, Kramrisch, etc.).

2. As remarked by Laufer, *Das Citralakṣaṇa*, p. viii, note 1.

With some authors, Indo-Greek art has become a veritable obsession. The extent to which the dependence of Asiatic on Greek art has been pressed may be illustrated by the following examples: M. Blochet (*Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, V, p. 114) recognizes Greek elements in Pahlavi Rājput drawings, "*dans laquelle on retrouve toutes (!) les caractéristiques de l'art indo-grec du Gandhara*," and remarks that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries "*les temples brahmaniques sont des répliques du Mausolée qu'Artémise avait fait construire et décorer par des praticiens grecs.*" G. de Lorenzo (*India e Buddismo Antico*, p. 45) suggests that Greek art, transformed and transported by Buddhism, may have animated the ancient art of the Aztecs and Incas of America. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 7, calls the sculptures of Amaravāṭi "almost entirely Roman in workmanship."

art; my object in discussing it here is not so much to continue the controversy as to dismiss it.³

The subject can best be expounded under a series of heads, as follows: (1) What is the Buddha image? (2) The early representation of deities by means of symbols. (3) The necessity for a Buddha image. (4) Elements of the later anthropomorphic iconography already present in early Indian art. (5) Style and content: differentiation of Indian and Hellenistic types. (6) Dating of Gandhāra and Mathurā Buddhas.

1. WHAT IS THE BUDDHA IMAGE?

By the Buddha image, the ultimate origin of which is in question, I understand to be meant both the earliest Indian examples and the fully developed type as we meet with it in Gupta and mediaeval India, and in Farther India and the Far East. There can be no doubt that this fully developed type is the subject of M. Foucher's thesis, for he is careful to extend his filiation throughout the area and periods referred to. As he has also pointed out, the question of the origin of Jaina and Brahmanical types and iconography is equally involved; the Jaina figures, on account of their close resemblance to those of the Buddha, and because of the parallelism of the Jaina and Buddhist development, are here considered together with the Buddha type, while the Brahmanical figures, in order to avoid too great an extension of the field to be examined, are only incidentally referred to. The question of the origin of Bodhisattva types is inseparable from that of the origin of the Buddha figure.

It will suffice to illustrate a few examples of the fully developed type of which the beginnings are to be discussed. In plastic and ethnic character these figures are products of the age and place in which they are found, at the same time that their descent from some common ancestor is evident. Iconographically the types of Buddhas and even of Bodhisattvas (we are not here concerned with the later differentiation of innumerable many-armed forms) are few. For seated Buddhas there are five positions, one in which both hands held at the breast form the *dharmacakra mudrā*, one in which both hands rest palms upward on the lap in *dhyāna mudrā*, and three in which the left hand rests in the same way on the lap, the right hand either hanging over the right knee (*bhūmisparśa mudrā*) or resting on the knee palm upwards in *varada mudrā*, or raised in *abhaya mudrā*. Sometimes the left hand grasps the folds of the robe. In standing images the right hand is generally raised in *abhaya mudrā*, while the left holds the folds of the robe. Finally, there are reclining images. The robe in some cases covers one, in others both, shoulders. The drapery clings closely to the figure, and is felt to be almost transparent ("wet drapery"). The palms of the hands and soles of the feet are sometimes marked by symbols. Of physical peculiarities, the *uṣṇīṣa* or protuberance on the crown of the head is very evident, the *ūrṇā* or tuft of fine hair between the brows is commonly found, and the fingers are sometimes webbed. The hair is represented by short curls, turned to the right, and

3. I have quite recently (*The Indian Origin of the Buddha Image*, in *Journ. Am. Or. Soc.*, XLVI, 1926) assembled a series of quotations, mainly from authors committed to the Greek theory, sufficient to suggest the outlines of the true history of the Buddha image. That the reader will have consulted these references is here

taken for granted. I may also refer to a review of the last published part of *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, published in the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, N. F., 1, 1924, pp. 51-53, and to the essay on Buddhist primitives in my *Dance of Siva*; in the latter I would now present certain points in a different way.

forming little protuberances which cover the whole of the head and the *uṣṇīṣa*. The ears are elongated by the weight of earrings worn before the adoption of the monastic robes. Some kind of confusion between the Buddha and Bodhisattva type is indicated by the existence of a Buddha type with crown and jewels; strictly and normally, the Buddha should be represented in monastic robes, the Bodhisattva, whether Siddhārtha or any other, in secular royal costume. The Bodhisattvas are represented in less rigid positions, never, for example, with hands in *dhyāna mudrā*; they are commonly distinguished by attributes held in the right or left hand, Vajrapāṇi by the *vajra*, Padmapāṇi by the rose lotus, Avalokiteśvara by the blue lotus, Maitreya by the *amṛta* flask; these attributes may be held in either hand, but the right hand is often raised in the pose of exposition (*vyākhyāna mudrā* or *cin mudrā*, sometimes called *vitarka*). Bodhisattvas are further distinguished by symbols indicated in the headdress, for example the Dhyāni Buddhas in the crowns of Avalokiteśvara and Mañjuśrī, the stupa in that of Maitreya; and in some cases by their "vehicles," Mañjuśrī, for example, often riding on a lion. Each and all of these deities are almost invariably represented as seated or standing on an expanded rose lotus flower, with or without a lion throne or "vehicle" in addition. Jinas or Tīrthaṅkaras are represented like Buddhas seated in *dhyāna mudrā*, but generally nude, and otherwise only to be distinguished by special signs, such as the *śrīvatsa* symbol on Mahāvīra's breast, or by their attendants.

Fundamentally then, there are two Buddha-Jina types to be considered, that of the seated Buddha or Jina with hands resting in the lap or in one of a few other positions and that of the standing figure with the right hand raised in *abhaya mudrā*, both types being represented in monastic robes, and neither carrying attributes; and one Bodhisattva type, seated or standing, in secular costume and usually carrying attributes.

The fully evolved types described above are illustrated in Figs. 1, 5, 31, 40, 62-64, 66-73.

2. THE EARLY REPRESENTATION OF DEITIES BY MEANS OF SYMBOLS

It is extremely doubtful whether any of the Vedic deities were anthropomorphically represented in the Vedic period, that is to say, before the time of Buddha. References to images, however, become common in the later additions to the Brāhmaṇas and Sūtras and in the Epics; while a well-known passage of Patañjali, commenting on Pāṇini (V., 3, 99) refers to the exhibition of images of Śiva, Skanda, and Viśākha. Very probably, we may regard the symbolic method as, broadly speaking, Aryan, the anthropomorphic as aboriginal (Dravidian), or as respectively "Northern" and "Southern" in Strzygowski's sense. Images may have been characteristic of aboriginal religious cults from a remote time, only making their appearance in Brahmanical literature at the time when popular belief was actively affecting Brahmanical culture, that is to say in the early theistic period, when *pūjā* begins to replace *yajña*. We find traces of this aboriginal iconolatry not only in the early figures of Yakṣas, but also in such passages of the Gṛhya Sūtras as refer to the moving about of the images of bucolic deities, and the making of images of Nāgas for the Nāga Bali. In the early votive terra cottas, all apparently non-Buddhist, and usually representing goddesses, and as a subordinate element in early Buddhist and Jaina art, we find a well-developed and quite explicit popular iconography.

Here, however, we are concerned with the symbolic or aniconic method, which was at one time so universal, at least in orthodox and official circles, as to constitute by itself a



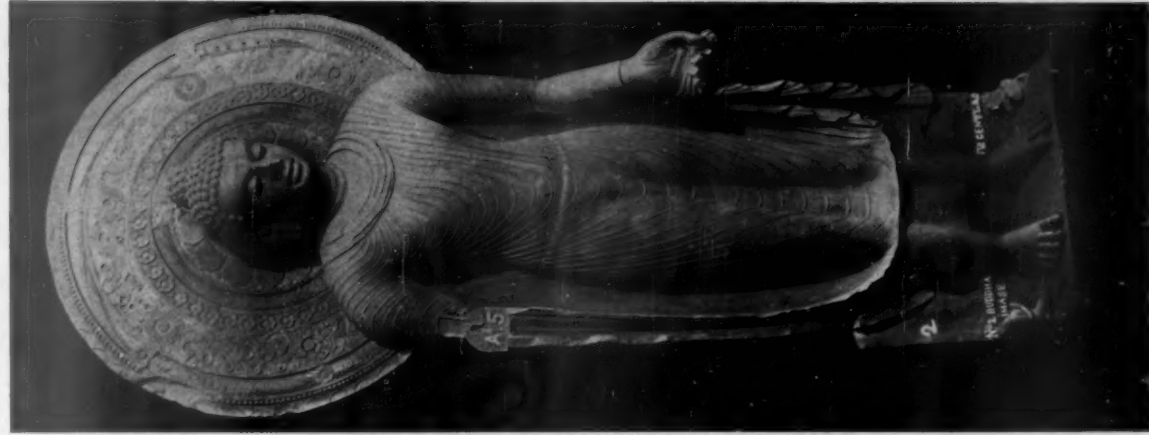
2—Yakṣa (Besnagar)
III Cent. B. C.



3—Yakṣa (Patna)
II Cent. B. C.



4—"Bodhisattva" (Buddha)
(Mathurā), 123 A. D.



5—Buddha (Sārnāth)
V Cent. A. D.

Stylistic Sequence of Yakṣa and Buddha Figures



6—Maues



7—Azes



8—Kadapha



9—Ujjain



10—Kaniška



11—Kaniška



12—Kaniška

6-8, Supposed (by some) and 9-12, Actual Buddha Figures on Coins



13—Yakṣa
(Bharhut)



14—Yakṣa
(Sāñcī)



15—Indra as Sāñi
(Bodhgayā)



16—Bodhisattva
(Mathurā)



17—Bodhisattva
(Mathurā)



18—Buddha
(Mathurā)

13-18, Yakṣas, Bodhisattvas, Buddha, etc.

complete artistic vocabulary and an iconography without icons. Of the symbols in use, those found on the punch-marked coins and early cast and struck coins include several hundred varieties; but some are much commoner than others.

Amongst these symbols, some of the commonest are the bull, *caitya-vṛkṣa* (railed sacred tree), mountain with one or several peaks (so-called *caitya* of numismatists), river, solar symbols (several varieties, all wheel-like), "*nandi-pada*" (circle surmounted by stemless trident), *triśūla* (trident part of the last without the circle), svastika, lotus, bow and arrow. I cannot here go into the evidence proving that neither the mountain nor the bow and arrow represent a stupa;⁴ taking this for granted, it will be observed that none of these symbols, though most of them are used by Buddhists and Jainas in the early art, is in itself any more Buddhist or Jaina than it is Brahmanical, or simply Indian. The whole series constituted an assemblage of forms so explicit that, as the *Visuddhi Magga* informs us, an expert banker could tell from the marks at what place and mint the coin had been stamped. Each sign had a definite meaning, sometimes secular, sometimes sectarian.

M. Foucher has rightly observed that the beginnings of Buddhist art are characterized by the use of some of these symbols and one or two others; and that they were used to designate the presence of the Buddha in the story-telling reliefs of Bhārhut and Sāñcī, where no anthropomorphic representation of the Master can be found, that is to say, so far as the last incarnation is concerned. Thus in the long *Abhinīṣkramaṇa* scene (Fig. 19) Siddhārtha's presence on Kanthaka is indicated only by the royal umbrella borne beside

4. A much rarer symbol found on certain coins (e. g., Amoghabhūti, 100-150 B. C.) is commonly called a square stupa. Actually all that it represents is a railed umbrella (*chakra*) like those represented in relief at Gayā (Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pl. IX, fig. 14), and like the *harmikā* of the great stupa at Sārnāth, thus conceivably designating, though not representing, a stupa. A stupa would naturally be represented as a dome within and rising above a railing. Something of this kind is to be seen on certain Āndhra coins (Rapson, *Coins of the Andhra Dynasty*, pl. VIII, nos. 235, 236, etc.); but these suggest not the ordinary Buddhist stupa but the unusual type with a square railing and ovoid body seen in one relief at Amarāvati (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. LXXXVI) and one at Sāñcī, *ibid.*, pl. XXXII, both associated with bearded, apparently not Buddhist, ascetics. Regular stupas are first unmistakably represented on Gupta seals (Spooner, *Excavations at Bāsūrh*, A. S. I., A. R., 1913-14, pl. XLVI, no. 159).

As regards the many-arched mountain, it may be remarked that this type is found on certain coins in unmistakably Hindu associations, e. g., on the coins of Svāmi Brahmanya Yaudheya, accompanying a six-headed Kārttikēya, where a stupa would be meaningless. Apparently the interpretation of this type as a *caitya* (in the sense of stupa) has resulted from an *a priori* conviction that the coin symbols must be Buddhist, and secondly, from the necessity that was felt to find a prototype for the *parinirvāṇa* symbols of the reliefs. A comparative study of the abstract formulae used in Indian landscape compositions (e. g., the Maṇḍor stele, Govardhana-dhara

composition, Bhandarkar, *Two Sculptures at Mandor*, A. S. I., A. R., 1905-06; or my *Rajput Painting*, pl. 2, or Petrucci's comment on this, *Burlington Magazine*, V, 29, 1916), and likewise in early Western Asiatic and Eastern Mediterranean art would have indicated the true significance. It is quite probable that the "*caitya*" of three arches surmounted by a crescent represented Śiva, "the three-peaked mountain being originally the god" (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 220). Śiva is said to have been the tutelary deity of the Śākya (Ep. Ind., V, p. 3).

One further point: the word *caitya* (Pali, *ceṭiya*) ought not to be used as though it were synonymous with stupa, nor as a purely Buddhist term. In the Epics, *caitya* usually means a *caitya-vṛkṣa*: in the (mediaeval) *Prabandh-acintāmaṇi*, always a temple. In Buddhist literature the reference is sometimes to sacred trees, sometimes to stupas; two sacred trees with their altars represented at Bhārhut are described in the contemporary inscriptions as *ceṭiyas* (Cunningham, *Bhārhut*, Pls. XLIII, 4 and XLVIII, 6). The *Yakkha ceṭiya* so often mentioned in Buddhist and Jaina literature are in some cases *caitya-vṛkṣas* with an altar, in others, temples with images. Any holystead is a *caitya*, notwithstanding that the word is said to be derived from a root *ci*, to build or pile up; cannot the word, perhaps, be connected with *cit*, and understood to mean an object to be meditated upon?

The proper designation of the "*nandipada*", also often miscalled *vardhamāna*, is unknown. These and other coin symbols will be discussed at greater length in a forthcoming number of the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*.

him; his sojourn in the wilderness is indicated by foot-prints (*pāduka*); and the First Meditation by the central railed *caitya-vṛkṣa*. Some of these symbols taken alone came to be used to designate the Four Great Events (afterwards eight) of the Buddha's life: I am rather doubtful of the nativity symbols, but certainly the Bodhi-tree (a similar *caitya-vṛkṣa*) designated the Enlightenment, the *Dharma-cakra* (Wheel), the First Sermon, and the stupa, the Parinirvāṇa. Further detail is immaterial for present purposes. It need only be remarked that M. Foucher assumes that the symbols were thus used by Buddhists in the first place upon *signacula*, little documents carried away by pilgrims visiting the sacred sites of the Four Great Events.⁵ Presumably these would have been of terra cotta or metal; but no trace of such objects has ever been found, and such early terra cottas as are known in some abundance are, as indicated above, of a quite different sort. The point, however, is unnecessary to M. Foucher's argument, as in any case an abundance of symbols was available to be made use of by every sect according to its own needs; and that each actually did so is only another illustration of the general rule that styles of art, in India, are not sectarian. M. Foucher's statement of the theory is only misleading to the extent that he implies that there was anything especially Buddhist about the process. When however he goes on to say⁶ that the sculptors of Bhārhut, Bodhgayā, and Sāñcī "*devaient se sentir terriblement gênés par cette incapacité ou cette interdiction d'introduire dans leurs compositions les plus compliquées l'image du héros principal*" he is only preparing the way for the later revelation from Gandhāra; as he has admitted elsewhere, there existed neither an incapacity (the same sculptors represented the Buddha freely as a human being in previous incarnations) nor an interdiction (for nothing of the kind can be found in Buddhist literature), and, as is readily apparent, the sculptor was by no means embarrassed, but in fact perfectly successful in telling his story.⁷ It is hardly to be supposed that the meaning of these reliefs needed to be explained to contemporary Buddhists.

At this point an earlier than Gandhāra indebtedness of Indian art to that of Greece has been inferred in more than one connection. Della Setta, endorsed by Foucher, has pointed

5. *Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, p. 11.

6. *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, I, p. 612.

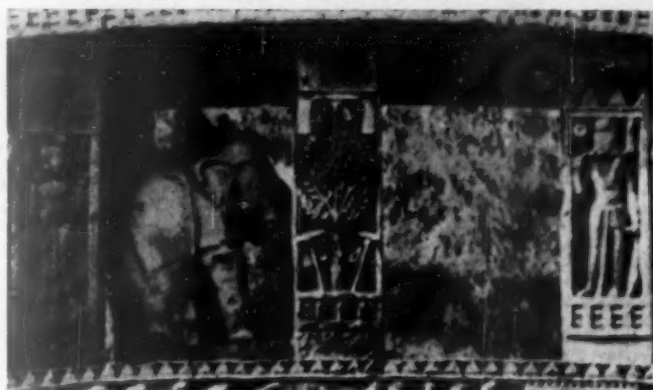
7. It may as well be observed here that the later representation of the Buddha figure in Indian art is not the same thing as the introduction of a naturalistic style; a new object, the human figure, is introduced where it had been absent, but this figure is treated in the traditional abstract manner. The only naturalistic style in question is that of Gandhāra. No phase of Indian art can be described as naturalistic in this sense; if we sometimes call the early style realistic, this only means that its theme is corporeal rather than spiritual.

The tendency to represent the human figure need not involve a naturalistic style: in Greek art the use of the figure and a naturalistic style are associated; in Indian art it is not the appearance, but the significance of objects, human or otherwise, that is sought for. In Greek art the emphasis is laid upon the object; in an abstract art it is not the object, but a concept that stands before us.

Every work of art is of course to some extent a compromise between the two points of view, naturalistic and abstract (or expressionistic); but what it is important to observe here is that the two extremes are contrasted, not in Indian Buddhist art before and after the introduction of the cult image (the Indian style remaining abstract throughout, whether it represents a sacred tree or a Buddha figure), but in Indian and Hellenistic art, respectively abstract and naturalistic. We are not here discussing questions of merit; as remarked by H. Frankfort in a clear definition of terms (*Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East*, I, London, 1924, p. 18): "The sense of beauty or aesthetic activity may equally well find expression in both ways." The only possibility of embarrassment is found when the artist for arbitrary reasons adopts one of these styles opposed to his innate idiosyncrasy; Asiatic art under European influence in the nineteenth century affords many examples of such embarrassment. It is ridiculous to speak of embarrassment at Sāñcī, or to suppose that a decadent naturalistic art could have inspired a young and vigorous abstract art.



19—*Abhinīṣkramaṇa (Great Renunciation) (Sāñcī)*



20—*Buddha Triad (Sāñcī)*



21—*First Sermon (Mathurā)*



22—*Bowl Relic and Great Enlightenment (Mathurā)*



23—*Sujātā's Offering (Sāñcī)*

Aniconic Representations of the Buddha. Sāñcī and Mathurā



24—Nāga (Pātaliputra)



25—Seated Figures (Bharhut)



26—Nāga Erāpata Worshipping Buddha (Bharhut)



27—Teacher and Disciples (Bharhut)



28—The Parinirvāṇa (Bharhut)



29—Vessantara Jātaka (Bharhut)

Aniconic Representations of Buddha; Early Nāga, Bodhisattva, etc.

out that the representation of three-quarters profile, and the use of continuous narration are illustrated somewhat earlier in Greece than in India. Strzygowski holds that the method of continuous narration was developed in the Hellenistic Near East. Marshall believes Western influences felt through Bactria may account for the artistic progress recognizable at Sāñcī; but, as recently observed by Rostovtzeff, "we know so little of Bactrian art that it is a mistake in method to explain '*ignotum per ignotius*'." It has not yet been suggested that inverted perspective and vertical projection are of Hellenistic origin (see Dalton, *East Christian Art*, p. 166). But a discussion of these points lies outside the scope of the present essay, as in any case these technical methods antedate Gandhāra.

Nor need anything further be said upon the subject of the symbolic language, except to remark that it remained in use, particularly at Amarāvati, but also in Mathurā, for some time subsequent to the introduction of the anthropomorphic image.

For aniconic representations of Buddha referred to in this section see Figs. 19-23, 26, 28.

3. THE NECESSITY FOR A BUDDHA IMAGE

Inasmuch as neither the Upaniṣads nor Buddhism nor Jainism, considered in their original character as systems of thought, contemplated the worship (*pūjā*) of any personal deity, it may well be asked how it came to pass that Hinduism, Buddhism, and Jainism alike became "idolatrous" religions. The answer to this question was admirably expressed by Jacobi over forty years ago:⁸ "I believe that this worship had nothing to do with original Buddhism or Jainism, that it did not originate with the monks, but with the lay community, when the people in general felt the want of a higher cult than that of their rude deities and demons, when the religious development of India found in Bhakti the supreme means of salvation. Therefore instead of seeing in the Buddhists the originals and in the Jainas the imitators, with regard to the erection of temples and worship of statues, we assume that both sects were, independently of each other, brought to adopt this practice by the perpetual and irresistible influence of the religious development of the people in India."

Bhakti, as is well known, means loving devotion, loyalty, attachment, service to one who is *Bhagavata*, worshipful, adorable, Lord, and he who feels such devotion and is devoted to any such being, is called *Bhāgavata* or *Bhaktā*. The conception comes into prominence together with, and is inseparably bound up with, the development of theistic cults in India, as these are with the making of images and the building of temples. Theistic elements are recognizable in the Upaniṣads; the development, as proved by the inscription of Heliodora, who calls himself a *Bhāgavata*, with reference to Viṣṇu, was already advanced in the second century B. C. Vaiṣṇava inscriptions, indeed, of the third or fourth century B. C. have been found at Nagari (Madhyamikā) near Chitor. The most famous Bhakti scripture is the *Bhagavad Gītā* referred to above, a work that must have been composed before the beginning of the Christian era, and perhaps about the fourth century B. C. "Be assured, O son of Kunti," says Kṛṣṇa, "that none who is devoted to Me is lost." In the same way the Buddhist *Majjhima Nikāya* assures us that even those who have not yet entered the Paths "are sure of heaven if they have love and faith toward Me."

8. Jacobi, *Gaina Sūtras*, in *S. B. E.*, XXII, 1884, p. xxi.

Much discussion has been devoted to the question of the origin of Bhakti cults. Let us examine the usage of the word. Outside the field of religion revealed in Vedic literature there lay a world of popular beliefs including the worship of Yakṣas and Nāgas as tutelary divinities or *genii loci*, and of feminine divinities, powers of fertility.⁹ Buddhist and Jaina texts contain many references to the cult or shrines of Yakṣas or Nāgas.¹⁰ To what extent the *Yakkha-cetiya* (*Yakṣa caityas*) of Buddhist texts may have been actual temples, or merely "haunts" (*bhavana*) marked by the establishment of a throne, or rather altar, beneath a sacred tree or beside a lake need not concern us here. What does concern us here is the importance of these divinities, and the relation that existed between them and their worshippers. There is no reason to doubt the tradition preserved in the Tibetan *Dulva* that the Śākya were accustomed to present all newborn children before the image of the Yakṣa Śākya-var dhana, evidently the tutelary deity of the clan.¹¹ Another Tibetan source relates that a gatekeeper of Vaiśālī, in the Buddha's lifetime, was reborn among the spirits, and requested the inhabitants of Vaiśālī to confer on him the status of a Yakṣa, in return for which he would warn them of any danger threatening them, "So they caused a Yakṣa statue to be prepared and hung a bell round its neck. Then they set it up in the gatehouse, and provided it with oblations and garlands along with dance and song to the sound of musical instruments."¹² In the *Mahābhārata*, a Yakṣiṇī is referred to as receiving a daily service and cult at Rājagṛha, and another Yakṣiṇī shrine was "world-renowned." The city of Nandivardhana in Magadha seems to have been called after the tutelary Yakṣas Nandi and Vardha.¹³ Jaina and Buddhist traditions are in agreement as to the names of some of the Yakṣa *caityas*. The *Mahāvamsa*, Chapter X, describes the cult of Yakṣas in Ceylon. Yakṣas are usually gentle; sometimes they act as familiars or guardian angels of individuals.¹⁴

The Yakṣa Kuvera (Vaiśravaṇa, Vaiśramaṇa), who is closely associated with Śiva, and Regent of the North, thus one of the Four Great Kings, the Lokapālas, is a very powerful genius. But the term "Yakṣa" seems once to have implied something more than Kuvera or one of his attendants. *Yakṣattva* in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is spoken of as a valued boon; like immortality, it is bestowed by the gods when rightly propitiated.¹⁵ This older and wider significance, as remarked by Kern,¹⁶ is sometimes met with in Buddhist references to

9. Both Yakṣas and Nāgas are aboriginal, non-Aryan types. Macdonell's surmise (*Vedic Mythology*, p. 153) that the Aryans "doubtless found the cult (of Nāgas) extensively diffused among the natives when they spread over India, the land of serpents," has been curiously justified by the discovery of Nāga types on Indo-Sumerian seals (*A. S. I., A. R.*, 1924-5, p. 61). See also Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, and my article on Yakṣas to appear as a Smithsonian publication in 1928.

10. *Yakkha-Samyutta* of the *Samyutta Nikāya*, X, 4. Other references in Chanda, *Four Ancient Yakṣa Statues*, in *University of Calcutta, Journ. Dep. Letters*, IV, 1921 (pp. 5, 34-36 of the reprint).

11. Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 17. The episode is twice represented at Amarāvati (Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pls. LXIX and XCI, 4).

12. Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales from the Kak-gyur*, trans. Ralston, p. 81.

13. O. C. Gangoly, in *Modern Review*, Oct., 1919; and Chanda, *op. cit.*, with reference to a statement in the *Mahāmāyūrī*.

14. Hopkins, *Epic mythology*, p. 57; Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, II, p. 40 ff. It is precisely the rôle of guardian angel that some Yakṣas play in relation to Buddhas and Jinas, in relation to Buddha, particularly the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi.

15. *Rāmāyaṇa*, III, 11, 94; Hopkins, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

16. *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 59. Foucher, *op. cit.*, insists on the cruel nature of Yakṣas as referred to in Buddhist texts; but this is usually where some story of miraculous conversion is related, and may well be designed to emphasize the marvel. That *ugra* Yakṣa types also existed need not be denied; but the familiar example of Kālī or of Śiva himself would show how little this need have interfered with their existence as objects of a Bhakti cult.

The subject of Yakṣas will be treated at some length in a Smithsonian publication in 1928. See also the admirable summary under *Yakkha* in Rhys Davids and Stede, *Pali Dictionary*.

Yakṣas; Indra, for example, may be called a Yakṣa, and even the Buddha is glorified by Upāla in the *Majjhima Nikāya* as an *āhuneyyo yakkho utamapuggalo atulo*.

Many references to Nāga cults are scattered through the Buddhist texts. The Chinese pilgrims constantly refer to monasteries and stupas occupying sites originally haunted by Nāgas. Hsüan Tsang informs us that Nālandā was originally the name of a Nāga "and the monastery built by the side of a pool is therefore called after his name."¹⁷

The significance for us of these cults so widely diffused and so popular in ancient India will be apparent when, in the first place, we observe that the nature of the worship offered was in many respects similar to that offered in a Buddhist temple, including particularly the erection of statues and the offering of flowers, garlands, incense, and music; in the second place that Buddhism, like other religions in similar circumstances, constantly inherited the prestige of sites already sacred, as at Bodhgayā and Nālandā; and finally, and most important, that the designation *Bhāgavata* is applied not alone to Vāsudeva (Viṣṇu),¹⁸ to Śiva¹⁹ and to Buddha,²⁰ but also to the Four Great Kings, the Mahārājas, Regents of the Quarters,²¹ of whom some are Yakṣas and some Nāgas, and also to various Yakṣas and Nāgas specifically.²²

Buddhism exhibited no hostility to these popular cults: the Buddha indeed expressly exhorts the Licchavi-Vajjis to continue "to honour and esteem and revere and support the Vajjian cetiyas in the city or outside it, and allow not proper offerings and rites as formerly given and performed to fall into desuetude," and so long as this were done, "so long may the Licchavi-Vajjis be expected not to decline but to prosper."²³

Historically, the Bhāgavata cults of Yakṣas and Nāgas must have yielded only gradually and peacefully to the Bhāgavata cults of Viṣṇu and Buddha; the cult of Nāgas and Yakṣas, indeed, is still widely prevalent, and though I do not know that the term Bhāgavata is still employed, the lower classes throughout India still worship innumerable local godlings of this character, and it is significant that the priesthood of the temples of such godlings is always non-Brāhman.²⁴ Officially, these cults were replaced by the "higher"

17. Beal, *Life of Hsüan Tsang*, p. 110; *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, pp. 63ff., 123, 149ff., 200.

18. Pāṇini, IV, 3, 98; inscription of Heliodora at Besnagar, proclaiming himself a Bhāgavata (D. R. Bhandarkar, *Excavations at Besnagar*, in *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1913-14 and 1914-15; R. G. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, and Minor Religious Systems*, p. 5; R. P. Chanda, *Archaeology and Vaiṣṇava Tradition*, in *Mem. A. S. I.*, 1920).

19. Patañjali mentions Śiva bhāgavatas (in *re* Pāṇini, V, 2, 76): Śiva is called Bhāgavat in the *Atharvashīras Upaniṣad*. Cf. *Mahābhārata*, XII, 18, 65: "Even after committing all crimes, men by mental worship of Śiva are freed from all sin" with *Bhāgavad Gītā*, ix, 30.

20. E. g., *Bhāgavato Saka Munino* at Bhārhut, also the Piprahwa vase inscription.

21. Pāṇini, IV, 3, 97, speaks of Bhakti directed to Mahārājas (not in a political sense as interpreted by Jayaswal, but with reference to the Four Great Kings, see Bhusari in *Ann. Bhandarkar Inst.*, VIII, 1926, p. 199); also in *Mahābhārata*, VIII, 45, 31, but here the Regent of the North is Soma (Hopkins, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 149).

22. Kubera, in *Mahābhārata*, V, 192, 42 ff. (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 145); Māṇibhadra, image and in-

scription from Pawāyā where his worshippers, the *goṣṭha* or corporation (guild) who installed the image, describe themselves as Māṇibhadra-bhaktā (M. B. Garde, *The Site of Padumāvati*, in *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1914-15, pt. I; Chanda, *op. cit.*); the Nāga Dadhikarṇa, Mathurā inscription, Lüders list, no. 85; Nāgas in the Mathurā Museum, Vogel, *Catalogue*, Nos. C 13 and C 21.

23. *Anguttara Nikāya*. It need hardly be pointed out again that *cetiya*, *cetiya*, signifies any kind of holystead such as a sacred tree, grove, or temple, not necessarily a stupa.

24. For these cults at the present day see Hutchinson and Vogel, *History of Basohli State*, in *Journ. Panjab Hist. Soc.*, IV, 2, 1916, p. 118; S. C. Mitra, *On the Worship of the Pipal Tree in North Bihar*, in *J. B. O. R. S.*, VI, 1920, p. 572, and *The Village Deities of North Bengal*, in *Hindustan Review*, Feb., 1922; Callaway, *Yakkun Nattanawā . . . Ceylon System of Demonology . . .*, London, 1829; R. B. Whitehead, *The Village Gods of Southern India*, London and Calcutta, 1916; Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 258; Longhurst, *Tree and Serpent Worship in Southern India*, in *A. S. I., A. R., Southern Circle*, 1914-15; R. E. Enthoven, *Bombay Folklore*, 1924; E. Upham, *History and Doctrine of Buddhism*, 1829.

faiths, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Bauddha, and Jaina; but even officially the Nāgas and Yakṣas were not dismissed, as the gods of ancient Ireland were dismissed by the Christian monks, but represented as worshippers or guardians of the Buddha or Jina. Nor could the "higher religions," when from systems of pure thought and of monastic discipline they developed into popular faiths, have succeeded in securing the adhesion of the mass of the people had they not both tolerated and reflected popular beliefs. Iconolatry, ritual,²⁵ devotion, profound preoccupations of the popular Indian non-Aryan consciousness, made of Buddhism, Jainism, and Hinduism what they are, and that is something other than they were in their intellectual inception. The sculptures themselves (Figs. 26, 28) bear witness to the power of the spirit of devotion.

If we are to believe the *Nidānakathā*, Sujātā mistook the Bodhisattva for the sylvan deity for whom her offering of milk-rice had been originally intended (Fig. 23); the story proves at least that Buddhists conceived that such a mistake might very naturally have been made. Later on, to simple folk, statues of Yakṣas and Buddhas, both associated with trees, both legitimately spoken of as Bhagavata, "The Lord," both worshipped with flowers, garlands, and incense, must have looked very much alike.²⁶ Nor can we altogether ignore the fact that figures of a Buddha or Jina protected by a many-headed Nāga, whose hoods form a canopy above their heads, bear, no less than certain Vaiṣṇava types (Balarāma, and Viṣṇu Anantaśayana), a striking resemblance to an actual Nāga, as represented in the early sculptures—having a human body, but with serpent hoods rising from a point on the back behind the shoulders. We shall presently recognize a sculptural type which represents equally well a *padmapāṇi* Yakṣa and a Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi.

We have traced above, in popular Indian religion, sources of theism, image worship, and devotion, as we find them appearing in orthodox Brāhmanism and Buddhism toward the beginning of the Christian era, in Buddhism as tendencies that point toward the Mahāyāna. When we realize in this way how naturally the demand for a Buddha image must have arisen, and how readily available were suitable types,²⁷ we may be less inclined to jump to the conclusion that the cult image of the Tathāgata was of extra-Indian origin. That such had really been the case we could only believe, against all *a priori* probabilities, if in fact the earliest Indian Buddha figures, instead of perpetuating the plastic tradition and repeating the iconographic formulae of the old Indian school, had really resembled Hellenistic prototypes. Even the most ardent advocates of the Greek theory cannot claim so

25. It is interesting to recall in passing the close parallels that exist between Buddhist (and Hindu) and Christian ritual, such as the use of lights, incense, bells, rosaries, tonsure, formal gestures, and music. These cult elements probably found their way into the Christian office through Alexandria and Coptic monasticism during the first few centuries of the Christian era (cf. Garbe, *Indien und Christentum*; and H. Berstl, *Indo-koptische Kunst*, pp. 180, 188, in *Jahrb. as. Kunst*, 1924). Thus the pagan elements surviving in Christian practice may be traced back to a remote pre-Buddhist and non-Aryan Indian antiquity; and the problems here discussed are found to possess an interest not exclusively Indian, but bound up with the general history of religion and art. On *bhakti* and *pūjā* see de La Vallée Poussin, *Indo-Européens*

et *Indo-Iraniens: l'Inde jusque vers 300 av. J. C.*, 1924, pp. 314 ff., and Charpentier, *Über den Begriff und die Etymologie von pūjā* in *Festgabe Hermann Jacobi*, 1926.

26. Apparently one of the *cāityas* of Vaiśālī was a banyan tree which was the abode of a Yakṣa by name Gotama. Remembering that in early Buddhism the Bodhi-tree is generally spoken of as a banyan (though always represented in art as *Ficus religiosa*) it will be seen that in this particular case a transference of significance from a Bhagavata Yakṣa Gotama to the Bhagavata Gautama Śākya-muni would have been especially easy. See Chanda, *Medieval Sculpture in Eastern India*, in *Calcutta Univ. Journal, Dept. Letters*, III, 1920, pp. 232 f.

27. See the next section.

much as this; nor would it be possible to put forward such a claim with Friar Bala's Bodhisattva and the Kaṭṭhā and Aṇḍor Mathurā Buddhas before our eyes.

4. ELEMENTS OF THE LATER ANTHROPOMORPHIC ICONOGRAPHY ALREADY PRESENT IN
EARLY INDIAN ART

Actual remains and literary evidences abundantly prove that images of divinities and of human beings, both in relief and in the round, existed already in the third and second centuries B. C., and it is very possible that similar figures in precious metal or impermanent materials had been made at a still earlier date. Even in specifically Buddhist art we find the Bodhisattva freely represented in human form in Jātaka illustrations, side by side with the purely symbolic indications of Gautama as Bodhisattva (Siddhārtha) or as Buddha (Tathāgata).²⁸ Craftsmen capable of producing the Pārkhām and Patna images, and the reliefs at Bhārhut and Sāñcī would have had no difficulty in representing Gautama in human form had they been required to do so.

India had long associated the attainment of higher stations of consciousness and the perception of ultimate truths with the practice of disciplined meditation, and had long been familiar with ascetic teachers. When a Buddha image was required, he would naturally be represented either as an adept or as a teacher; conceptions that immediately connote, in the one case the cross-legged seance,²⁹ hands at rest in the lap, and abstracted gaze directed toward the tip of the nose, in the other, the same seance, but with the right hand raised, the left resting on the hip, and a more active demeanor. The practice of yoga is older, of course, than Buddhism or Jainism and neither of these religions did more than adopt and adapt the existing technique of contemplation. A beautiful description of the seated yogī will be found in the *Bhagavad Gītā*, VI, 10-21; condensed as follows:

"Abiding alone in a secret place, without craving and without possessions, with thought and self controlled, he shall take his seat upon a firm seat, neither over-high nor over-low making the mind single-pointed, with the working of the intellect and senses held in check, with body, head and neck maintained in perfect equipoise, looking not round about him, so let him meditate, and thereby reach the peace of the Uttermost Abyss; and the likeness of one such, who knows the boundless joy that lies beyond the senses and is grasped by intuition, and who is free from longing for all desirable things, is that of a lamp in a windless place, that does not flicker."

A briefer description will be found in the canonical Buddhist *Dīgha Nikāya*, sutta 22:

"And how, O monks, does a monk live, observant of the body?"

"Whereas, O monks, a monk, retiring to the forest, or to the foot of a tree, or to some other uninhabited spot, sits him down cross-legged, with body erect and contemplative faculty intent . . . training himself to be conscious of all his expirations and inspirations."

28. The figure of the Bodhisattva, Siddhārtha, is not represented in certain reliefs which have been regarded as illustrating the Approach to the Bodhi-tree, at Bodhgayā and Sāñcī (Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, pl. VIII, fig. 4, as interpreted by Bloch, *Notes on Bodhi-Gayā*, in *A. S. I., A. R.*,

1908-09; Maisey, *Sanchi*, pl. XVI; and Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. XXXIII).

29. Cf. *Bhagavad Gītā*, VI, 10-21, describing the firm and easy (*sthira-sukha*) seance of the yogi. I use the word *seance* to translate *āsana* in the sense of a mode of sitting, as I use *stance* to translate *sthānam*.

No new effort on the part of the sculptor was needed for the realization of these types, which appear already at Bhārhut, once in a relief of uncertain significance (Fig. 25) and once in a composition representing Digha instructing his disciples (Fig. 27).³⁰ Seated figures which have in fact been identified as Buddha are also found on coins of Maues (c. 100 B. C.) and Kadapha (Kadphises I, c. 40-78 A. D.).³¹ In both coins we find the cross-legged seance. In the case of the Maues coin (Fig. 6) the two hands are folded in the lap; but there is a horizontal bar extended to the right which may be a sword or scepter, or possibly the back edge of a throne or seat. In the case of the Kadapha coins (Fig. 8), of which there are two closely related varieties, the right hand is raised, holding some hammer-like object, perhaps a scepter; the left hand rests on the thigh, and the elbow is extended, while the breadth of the shoulders and slenderness of the waist are conspicuous. It seems to me that these personages represent a king, and not a Buddha. The Kadapha type, however, apart from the object held in the hand, is exactly that of the early Mathurā Buddhas (Figs. 34-39) and of figures of kings or perhaps Bodhisattvas, and of Buddha, at Amarāvati. The characteristic and vigorous gesture of the palm or clenched fist resting on the thigh is rarely met with in later art, but survives, for example, in certain mediaeval Bodhisattva types (Fig. 65) and is often used by Javanese actors at the present day.

More convincing than any of the types above referred to are the seated figures found on early Ujjain coins. One of these (Fig. 9) can hardly be anything but a Buddha, as it represents, to quote Cunningham's words, a "figure squatting in the native fashion beside a holy tree surrounded by a railing," and, moreover, squatting on a lotus seat. This is perhaps the earliest male figure so represented as seated upon an expanded lotus. However we cannot exactly date these coins; they can hardly be earlier than the first century A. D.³² The type, however, is precisely that which appears on Kaniška's seated Buddha coins (Fig. 10), with the identifying designation.

As regards the physical peculiarities of the Buddha type, we find the *uṣṇīṣa* represented in the Indian fashion as a rounded cranial protuberance already in the case of the relief representing Indra as Śānti on one of the Bodhgayā railing pillars, dateable about 100 B. C.³³ Buddha-like heads with an *uṣṇīṣa*-like protuberance, and many short curls, are

30. Also in the unpublished relief from Bharhut, a scene from the *Vessantara Jātaka*, in which the Brahman Jujaka is seen seated cross-legged in his leaf hut. Berstl, *Indo-koptische Kunst*, in *Jahrb. as. Kunst*, I, 1924, has traced the westward migration of the "yogi-motif" about and somewhat before the beginning of the Christian era. He inferred its early occurrence in Indian sculpture but does not seem to have known the Bharhut examples above referred to. As a matter of fact, the motif has since been found on Indo-Sumerian seals probably to be dated well before 2000 B. C. (*A. S. I., A. R.*, 1924-5, p. 61).

31. Maues: Longworth Dames, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1914, p. 793, calls it Buddha; Whitehead, *Cat. Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore*, p. 102 and pl. X, 31, calls it a king; Vincent Smith, *Cat. Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta*, p. 40 and pl. VIII, 4, calls it a deity or king; Gardner, *Cat. Coins in the British Museum, Greek and Scythian Kings of Bactria and India*, p. 71 and pl. XVII, 5, calls it a king with a sword on his knees. The similar but better preserved type on a coin of Azes, Gardner, *op.*

cit., pl. XVII, and *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1912-13, pl. XL, 18, shows that the latter description should be correct.

Kadapha: Whitehead, *op. cit.*, pp. 181, 182 and references there cited; Marshall, *Excavations at Taxila*, in *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1913-14, p. 44 and pl. XL, 53, 1914-15, p. 33 and pl. XXIX, 38, and 1915-16, p. 34 and pl. XXV, 18, 19. Both call it a seated Buddha, but cf. the coin of Huviška, seated king, crossed legs, with attributes in both hands, Vincent Smith, *Numismatic Notes, I*, in *J. B. A. S.*, 1897, fig. iv, also the Gandhāra sculpture in *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1914-15, pl. X, 18.

32. Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 97 and pl. X, 7, 8, 10.

33. L. Bachofer, *Ein Pfeiler-Figur aus Bodh-Gaya*, *Jahrb. as. Kunst*, II, 1925; Sir J. H. Marshall, *J. R. A. S.*, 1908, p. 1096 and pl. IV. Stella Kramrisch describes this figure as psychologically a Buddha prototype (*Grundzüge der indischen Kunst*, p. 83). In general appearance it is nearer to the standing Bodhisattva types.

represented on several of the Bodhgayā railing medallions. There is, indeed, a prominence very suggestive of an *uṣṇīṣa* to be seen on the head of the Nāga figure on the Pāṭaliputra railing (Fig. 24). I cannot recall any pre-Kuṣāna sculpture in which an *ūrṇā* is represented, nor any earlier example of even a Buddha with webbed fingers than the Māñkuwār image (448/9 A. D., Fig. 61). In the representation of the hair in many curls, which does not appear until after the middle of the second century A. D., it is evident that literary tradition has been followed. It has been suggested, and is quite possible, that the webbed fingers represent what was at first a technical device, intended to avoid breakage.

Turning now to the standing figure in early Indian art, we find its chief iconographic peculiarities are the symmetrical stance, with well-separated feet, the raising of the right hand usually in the *abhaya* position,³⁴ and the placing of the left hand upon the thigh either clenched, or holding the folds of the robe. Later the left hand is generally somewhat raised, but still grasps the drapery. Unfortunately, the arms of the oldest Indian figures, the Pārkhām (Fig. 2) and Patna (Fig. 3) Yakṣas³⁵ are missing. But the characteristic attitude of the early standing Buddhas is well seen in the case of a panel relief on one of the railing crossbars found by Waddell³⁶ at Pāṭaliputra (Fig. 24), representing a Nāga beside a tree; see also Fig. 47. In later, that is to say pre-Kuṣāna and early Kuṣāna sculpture the pose is so usual that we may fairly regard it as typical; Yakṣas, Nāgas, and goddesses are alike represented in this way. Sometimes the left hand rests simply on the hip (*kaṭyavalambita hasta*), sometimes it seems to grasp the drapery, sometimes, particularly in the case of the Bacchanalian Yakṣa and Nāga types (Fig. 49), it holds a flask suggesting the *amṛta* flask of Maitreya.

34. Regarding this *mudrā*, or *hasta*, which is the only one except the *añjali* common in early Indian art, it should be observed (1) that the hand is sometimes *vydhṛta*, sometimes *pariṇṛta*, the latter position being usual in the later art, and (2) this hand serves apparently to indicate several meanings which are later more carefully differentiated. The various meanings of the *palāka* hand in dancing include removing fear, graciousness, benediction, taking an oath, addressing an audience, closing a dispute, and any of these are appropriate to the early usage; other meanings, such as "wave" require a movement of the hand (cf. *Mirror of Gesture*, p. 27). The treatment of gesture in Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*, which may date back to the second century B. C., implies a long established tradition; for gesture language (which is one of the sixty-four *kāṇḍas*, accomplishments) in everyday life, see *Jātaka*, No. 546 (Cowell's translation, p. 182), where the "hands" employed seem to have been *sikhara* and *palāka*.

As regards the clenched fist (*muṣṭi*) of Mathurā types, I have not observed this in earlier Indian, or in Gandhāra types; the most suitable meaning given in *abhinaya* books is that of "steadiness." The energy of the gesture is enhanced by the holding of the elbows away from the waist; the arm thus held akimbo is characteristic of early Indian types, is found sparingly in mediaeval works (Fig. 65), and survives in the Javanese theater, while it is not seen in Gandhāra.

35. The equally ancient archaic Yakṣa at Deoriyā, Allāhābād (Fig. 47) has the left hand on the hip; and this was almost certainly the same in the case of the Besnagar figure (Fig. 2).

For present purposes it is unnecessary to enter upon the controversy as to whether these figures represent pre-Mauryan kings, or represent Yakṣas, of Maurya and Śuṅga date. I now agree with Chanda (*Four Ancient Yakṣa Statues*, Calcutta, 1921) and others in taking the latter view. It is not disputed that these are the oldest known examples of Indian stone sculpture in the round (recent Indo-Sumerian discoveries aside), and represent the true "primitives" of an original and indigenous style.

36. L. A. Waddell, *Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra*, Calcutta, 1903, pl. 1. Other early examples are found on coins, e. g., Dhara Ghoṣa, Audumbara, Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pl. IV, 1; early Taxila, *ibid.*, pl. II, 14; early Kosāmbi, *ibid.*, pl. V, 15. Credit is due to Waddell, who, although a subscriber to the Greek theory and ardent admirer of Gandhāra art, remarked that "Buddhism . . . manifestly took the preëxisting images of the Brahmanist gods such as we see on the Bhārhut stupa as their models" (*Evolution of the Buddhist Cult, its Gods, Images and Art*, in *Imp. and As. Q. Rev.*, Jan., 1912); and equally to Laufer (*Das Citralakṣaṇa*, p. 18): "Wenn die Buddhisten das ganze brahmanische Göttersystem adoptiert haben, dann ist auch die grösste Wahrscheinlichkeit vorhanden, dass sie die Ikonographie dieser empfangen haben; es ist undenkbar, dass sie die künstlerische Gestaltung selbst erfunden haben sollten."

The phylogeny of the standing Bodhisattva types is even clearer, because here the secular costume is retained, whereas in the Buddha figures we expect, and generally find, a monastic costume without jewelry. Starting with Yakṣa prototypes, the Bodhisattvas seem to have been developed in two directions, that of the independent figures, and that of the figures associated with the Buddha in a triad. Yakṣas as guardians, attendants, and worshippers in early Buddhist art are represented with a flower, or as *caurī*-bearers, or with folded hands; and these types appear as members of a triad long before the central figure is anthropomorphically represented. Thus, if we look at the Sāñcī north *torāṇa*, outer face, we find on the topmost architrave in the center a *Dharma-cakra* (Wheel), that is to say, the Buddha turning the Wheel of the Law, in other words preaching the first sermon at Benares; and on either side, though one is now missing, a *caurī*-bearing Yakṣa (Fig. 14). It may be noted the left hand grasps the folds of the drapery—a feature very characteristic of Buddha figures. Again, between the lowest and second architraves we see three uprights (Fig. 20), in the center a Bodhi-tree, representing the Buddha on the occasion of the Great Enlightenment, and on either side a Yakṣa holding a rose lotus. The *caurī*-bearing type persists long after the anthropomorphic image appears (Figs. 34, 35, 60) but is later on replaced by differentiated Bodhisattva types holding attributes. If however we consider the lotus-bearing type just referred to and illustrated in Figure 20, we are immediately struck by the fact that there is only one way in which they can be described, from an iconographic point of view, namely as *padmapāṇi*, that is to say, "having a rose lotus in the hand." I do not mean to assert that these figures already represent the Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi, though that may be possible; I do mean to say that when it became necessary to present this Bodhisattva to the eye, the type lay ready to hand. It may well be that the very conception of a Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi was suggested by the existence of *padmapāṇi* Yakṣas. A parallel case is that of the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi (Figs. 35, 40), originally the Buddha's faithful attendant, later the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (Fig. 65). Incidentally, this Yakṣa and Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi should not be confused with Indra, to whom the epithet *vajrapāṇi* also applies, but who never became a Bodhisattva. Regarding the generally similar aspect of Bodhisattvas and Yakṣas little more need be said, except to remark that the resemblance of type is such that in more than one instance modern students have mistaken ancient Yakṣa figures for Bodhisattvas.³⁷ As regards a resemblance in function, it need scarcely be pointed out that Bodhisattvas, like Yakṣas, are frequently worshipped, not for the sake of enlightenment, but as guardians and protectors from earthly ills.³⁸

In the case of Jaina iconography, the sequence is even clearer; only here there are no Bodhisattvas, and the *caurī*-bearing attendants remain to the last as attendants, well known to be Yakṣas. It is noteworthy that some of these Jaina Yakṣas, attendant on Jinas, bear the names of Hindu deities, such as Brahmā, who are not, from the usual Hindu point of view, Yakṣas at all.³⁹ We are reminded here of the iconographic descent of the Hindu deities, which like the Buddhist divinities are derived from a limited early

37. Cf. Diez, *Die Kunst Indiens*, fig. 131; H. P. Sastri, in *J. B. O. R. S.*, 1919, p. 552.

38. References to Yakṣas as guardian or familiar spirits will be found in Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, II, 47; in the *Prabandhacintāmaṇi* of Merutunga, Tawney's translation, p. 203 (there is a cor-

responding passage in the *Kathakośa*; and *Mahāvastva*, ch. X).

39. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus*, pp. 361, 362. J. Burgess, *Digambara Jaina Iconography*, in *Indian Antiquary*, XXXII, 1903.

stock of types in which the Yakṣa, or king formula predominates; the two types are essentially similar—Yakṣas are by no means always represented as pot-bellied. It may indeed have been objected that some of the worshipping figures associated with symbols of Buddha in early Buddhist art are not really Yakṣas, but kings; this may be true, but only illustrates the fact that the early conception of a divine personage is based upon that of an ideal ruler (Cakravartin). This being the case, indeed, it is the less surprising that the similarity of Bodhisattva and royal types should have persisted throughout the later development; this only accords with the view, moreover, that on the one hand, kings are earthly divinities, while on the other hand divinities by their very nature are persons who exercise dominion (*aiśvarya*) over a more or less extended domain in accordance with their special functions. The phylogeny of Hindu iconography, however, lies outside the scope of the present article; I may point out merely in passing the close relation existing between such early Śiva types as that of the Guḍimallam *liṅgam* and such early Yakṣa types as those of Bhārhuṭ and Sāñcī.

The origin of the Buddhist and Hindu feminine divinities, can be only briefly referred to. If we do not meet with them very early under their Buddhist and Hindu names, that is not to say that they were not known in the same forms but under other names at an earlier date. Forms like those of Tārā or Devī in their simplest *sāttvik* aspect, representing beautiful deep-bosomed women whose only attribute is a lotus flower held in the hand are iconographically indistinguishable from the proto-Lakṣmī so often represented in reliefs of Sāñcī and Bhārhuṭ, on coins, for example those of Amoghabhūti and of Azes, and by early terra cottas. India forms no exception to the general rule that in all religious development it is the natural human tendency to continue the worship of the ancient forms, and even in the ancient manner, accepting at first tacitly and then as a matter of course the newer interpretations and terminology. It may well be, indeed, that the image of Tārā, as Dr. Barnett has suggested,⁴⁰ goes back to the time when Anahita, whether known by that or by some other name, was worshipped alike in Western Asia and Indo-Sumerian India.⁴¹

The Buddhas of Mathurā and Gandhāra are both nimbate; in the former the nimbus is simply scalloped at the edge, in the latter it is plain. That the Mathurā Buddhas are nimbate is regarded by Foucher and others as a distinctive mark of Greek influence, inasmuch as both a nimbus and rays are found in Greek art of the Alexandrian period.⁴² In the first place it may be remarked that the nimbus or rays must have originated in some classic area of sun-worship, and may be older than the known Greek examples.⁴³ In India it

40. *J. R. A. S.*, 1926, p. 765.

41. It is true that another goddess of prosperity, Ardocho, to use her name as it appears on early coins, enters into the body of Indian iconography; this is probably a Hellenistic form, a western Fortune, and with her characteristic cornucopia, she can be followed far into the mediaeval imagery. But how small a part this form, to be identified by the un-Indian cornucopia, plays beside the innumerable feminine divinities, Buddhist or Hindu, who hold in their hand a lotus flower, the *Alakṣmā* of Indian poetry! As we have already remarked, it is far from our object to deny the existence of any foreign element whatever in Indian iconography; we wish

only that the matter should be apprehended with a due sense of proportion.

For the early Indian terra cottas see Museum of Fine Arts *Bulletin*, No. 152, and a fuller account to appear in *Ipek*, 1928, also *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1924-5, pls. XXII, XXVII.

42. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, I, p. 42.

43. So also the thunderbolt of Zeus is older than the earliest known Greek representations (Jacobsthal, *Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst*, Berlin, 1906). In such cases it is simpler to regard the Indian occurrences as belonging to the common Indo-Western-Asiatic inheritance than as late borrowings; more especially

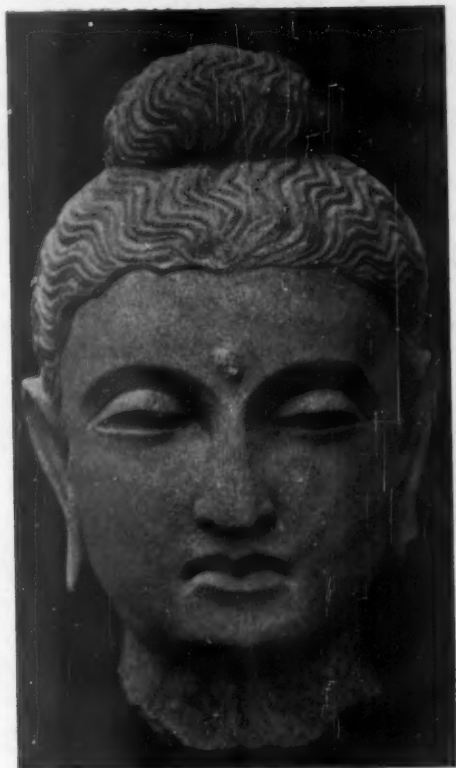
occurs on coins of Maues, c. 100 B. C., and so even if of western origin need not have any specific bearing on the Gandhāra question. But it would have been a most natural development within the Indian tradition. In Vedic ritual a golden disc was placed on the fire altar to represent the sun; it may well be that in other cases such a disk was placed behind the altar, at any rate this would naturally tend to be so in the case of smaller altars bearing cult objects. Radiance is a quality associated with all the Devas, and we might expect that when an anthropomorphic image took its place upon the altar, once empty or occupied by a symbol, the disc would remain—just as the Bodhi-tree remains behind the Vajrāsana when the visible Buddha takes his place upon it. At any rate we do in fact find representations of altars bearing symbols (the bowl relic, Fig. 22), having behind them just such a hemisphere as we might expect, with the usual scallop edge of the Kuṣāna nimbus; a similar half-disc appears (with rays) behind a seated Sūrya type (D 46 in the Mathurā Museum) of the Kuṣāna period (Fig. 44). It seems to me very likely that we have before us a direct traditional continuity. In any case, the nimbus cannot be regarded as an argument of much weight in the Gandhāra question. As I have constantly repeated and as cannot be too often repeated, the only real argument would consist in showing that the earliest Indian Buddha figures, whatever their date, resemble Gandhāra types and are not in the iconographic or stylistic tradition of the older indigenous works.

A rather constant distinction of Gandhāra from Mathurā Buddha figures appears in the form of the throne, which in Gandhāra is usually a lotus, in Mathurā, a *śiṃhāsana*, that is to say, a rectangular pedestal supported by lions. The exact significance of this difference is hard to explain. It may be remarked that the Gandhāra lotus is somewhat un-Indian in that it is represented not as a broad expanded surface, but rather suggesting a prickly artichoke, as if the Indian conception of a firm and easy seance, had been somewhat misunderstood. If the Gandhāra sculptors depended wholly or partly on a literary tradition, perhaps the distinction arose in connection with the double meaning of the word *padmāsana*, which signifies both the lotus seance and the lotus seat. In India proper the sculptor would have been better aware that the Buddha could be represented in *padmāsana* (lotus seance) without necessarily being seated upon a lotus. That the Indian sculptors followed a tradition in which the lion had importance, no doubt in connection with the conception of the Tathāgata as Śākyasiṃha, the Lion of the Śākyas, is also shown by the fact that in some standing figures, for example Friar Bala's Bodhisattva, a lion is represented seated between the rather widely separated feet of the Master.

In Gandhāra Bodhisattvas, the turban, when represented, is usually of a typically Indian, Kuṣāna, form. When, as in Figures 17 and 32 we find in this headdress a Dhyāni

when we have also early literary references to the form (*Atharva Veda*, XI, 10, 3) where the *trisaṃdhi*, the three-pointed bolt of Indra, is deified (Bloomfield, *Artharva Veda* . . . p. 75). For the earliest Indian representation of a *vajra* (Maurya or Śuṅga) see *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1911-12, p. 93 and pl. XXXII, 5. As regards the innumerable motifs such as winged lions common to Indian and Western Asiatic art, it is not only (as Fergusson long ago perceived, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 132) "not clear that the Indian form may not be of an original stock as old or older than the Assyrian," but very probable that this is so, the motifs being cognates rather than late borrowings.

The oldest nimbus with which I am acquainted appears as a circle with flaming rays surrounding the flying deity Asur on an enameled faience from Assur now in the British Museum and dating from the ninth century B. C. (W. Andrae, *Farbige Keramik aus Assur*, Berlin, 1923, p. 13 and pl. 8). It is interesting to observe on the same plaque a representation of clouds and raindrops according to a formula later traceable in Central Asia and in India (see my *Catalogue of Indian Collections*, Boston, part V, nos. CLVIII and CCCXCIVb, pp. 120, 201).



30—Buddha



31—Buddha



32—Bodhisattva



33—Buddha

30, 32, Buddha and Bodhisattva Types, Gandhāra; 31, 33, Mathurā



34—"Bodhisattva" (Buddha) with two Attendants; Lion Throne



35—Buddha with two Attendants⁷
(Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi on Proper Right)



38—Buddha Teaching, and Great Enlightenment



36—Bodhisattva Maitreya



37—Buddha (?) with Turban



39—Buddha with two Attendants

Early Mathurā Seated Buddha Type



40—Visit of Indra;
Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi above

Buddha represented, in Mathurā works in an Indian manner and in Gandhāra works in the Hellenistic tradition, it seems most natural to assume that the Indian type is original. Incidentally it may be remarked that the occurrence of this formula in the Kuṣāna period is one of the earliest plastic evidences available of an already advanced stage in the development of Mahāyāna theology. Be it observed that it is not inconceivable that such a small Buddha figure had been actually worn by Indian Buddhist kings, who might have wished to be regarded as Bodhisattvas, just as Kadphises II using the title of Maheśvara suggests that he is an incarnation of Śiva; at a much later period such a Buddha figure was certainly worn in the headdress by the Sinhalese king Vimala Dharma Sūrya.⁴⁴

Another cycle of the same kind is represented by the *līlā kamala* or *līlābja*, lotus of dalliance, held in the hand by divinities and by kings and queens from the time of the earliest reliefs up to the present day; whether this lotus had originally a precise symbolic significance, or, as the *Mahāpadāna Sutta* expresses it, was simply "dear to and beloved of all," we can hardly say.⁴⁵

Great differences are found too in the treatment of the hair. In Gandhāra the hair is generally thick and undulating (Fig. 30) and the *uṣṇīṣa* is either covered by the hair or replaced by a kind of chignon. In Mathurā, however, both Buddha and Jina images are represented at first with a spiral protuberance (Fig. 34) which is a lock of hair and not an *uṣṇīṣa*; later the whole head and hair are covered with small short curls, and this type after the second century becomes the almost universal rule, the only example (Fig. 61)

44. Reproduced in Rouffaer and Juynboll, *Indische Batikkunst*, and in my *Medieval Sinhalese Art*, pl. xxii.

45. In early Indian art the lotus is held in the hand, is used as a seat or pedestal, is represented in medallions, and in the full-vase (*pūṣpa-ghaṭa*, *bhadda-ghaṭa*) motif, and constantly employed in the decorative borders. Foucher is undoubtedly right in regarding the lotus when treated *per se* as of symbolic significance, and as designating the feminine divinity who holds the lotus in her hand and is sometimes accompanied by elephants who pour down waters upon her from jars held in their trunks. This type, exactly corresponding to the later Lakṣmī and Gaja-Lakṣmī, when met with in Buddhist art, Foucher describes as Māyā-Devī; and this goddess, or the lotus alone, he regards as designating the nativity of the Buddha. The type, however, is equally a favorite one in early Jaina art; it appears on early votive terra cottas, and on coins which we have no special reason to regard as Buddhist. Perhaps the most fully realized type is that of the pillar from the Jamālpur mound, Mathurā, now B 89 in the Lucknow Museum (Cunningham, *A. S. W. I., Reports*, I, or my *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 74); here we have the full-vase motif, with masses of lotus flowers rising from it, and the goddess standing on one of the flowers amongst the others. This proto-Lakṣmī may have designated the nativity in some special instances, but we have no evidence that such was the case: Māyā-Devī when unmistakably represented in the later nativities belongs to the dryad (*vrkṣakā*) type. What we may well be sure of is that fundamentally the goddess of the lotus is a figure of Abundance, drawn from the warm and living imagery of popular cults. Like the dryads and many of the railing figures, the aspect of fertility is emphasized.

phasized. When the elephants are present, these are surely the life-giving monsoon clouds. And the rose lotus, which Foucher recognized as her particular symbol, is at once an emblem of the waters and of abundance.

In old Jaina texts the Gaja-Lakṣmī composition is always described as the lustration (*abhisekha*) of Fortune (Śrī).

The significance of the lotus seat and pedestal must be another than this. It will not be overlooked that Brahmā in the Epics is called *abjaya*, lotus-born, and *kamaldāna*, seated on a lotus. In the *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* (VII, 4, 1, 8 and X, 5, 2, 6) the lotus plant is said to represent the (cosmic) waters, and the earth is a lotus leaf floating on the waters. Here the idea of divine and miraculous birth is present. In later works the mysterious purity of the lotus, which springs from the mud and is yet so fair, and whose leaves though they rest on the water are not wetted by it, is often referred to. Also, it is characteristic of the gods that they do not touch the earth; the lotus flowers that rise beneath their feet and which, even in seated images, are, as it were, their footstool designate this peculiarity.

In the later cosmologies both macrocosm and microcosm are in various ways compared to a lotus, and it is possible that some conception of this kind is present when a lotus is seen in the hand of a deity; the *līlā-kamala*, lotus of dalliance, a toy as it were in human hands, is likewise the cosmic scene of the divine *līlā*.

Finally, it can hardly be doubted that at the time we are speaking of the history of decorative art was already so ancient that the lotus may well have been extensively used simply as a familiar design, without special or conscious significance.

of the smooth head dating from the Gupta period being the Māṅkuwār image, 448/9 A. D. In Gandhāra, as the process of Indianization of the type proceeds, the flowing locks are restricted and by gradual transitions come to conform to the Indian curly formula. Both types, the early single spiral (Fig. 34) and the later multiplicity of short curls seem to reflect, though in different ways, the tradition of the *Nidānakathā* that when the Bodhisattva shore his locks, his hair "was reduced to two inches in length, and curling from the right, lay close to his head, and so remained as long as he lived."

The occurrence of Jaina types, practically identical with the Buddha types, except for the absence of the robe, is noteworthy. It is generally assumed, and must be assumed, when the Hellenistic theory is adopted, that the Jaina types are derived from Buddhist ones. But such little (palaeographic) evidence as is available tends to show that the Jaina type as found on *āyāgaṇas* (votive slabs) (Figs. 41, 42) are somewhat older than any dated Buddha figures. Laufer⁴⁶ has suggested with some plausibility that Jainas preceded the Buddhists in the adoption of an iconolatrous cult.

It is a rather mysterious fact that though the Jainas, like the Buddhists, were well established in Taxila in the Scytho-Parthian period, as architectural remains prove, not a single example of Graeco-Jain sculpture appears either then or at any subsequent period.

A few sculptures that may be called Graeco-Hindu are known, but these belong to the later period (third century) when Gandhāra art is much Indianized. The most interesting of these figures is a three-headed Maheśa (so-called Trimūrti) from Chārsada,⁴⁷ comparable to the three-headed Śiva with the bull on one of the coin types of Vāsudeva.⁴⁸ This Maheśa type can be traced across Central Asia (possibly in the sense of a Lokeśvara) and to China and Japan.⁴⁹ In the same way a Buddha type of Mathurā origin can be followed through Turkestan to China.⁵⁰

The Buddha and Jina (Fig. 43) type of a seated or standing figure, sheltered by the expanded hoods of a polycephalous Nāga, and the similar Hindu type (Viṣṇu-Anantaśayin—but not always reclining, there being a fine seated example in the Vaiṣṇava Cave at Bādāmī) present a common interest. Here in the same way it would be usual to derive the Hindu from the Buddhist type; but the converse is more probable. At any rate the *Mahābhārata* story of Rāja Adi in which the sleeping Droṇa is found sheltered by a serpent's hoods is older than any possible Buddha figure. From this story is derived the place name Ahichatra, "serpent-umbrella," and, as Cunningham suggests, the Buddhists probably took over the idea from the Hindus.⁵¹ There is a close resemblance between

46. Laufer, *Das Citralakṣaṇa*, p. 18.

47. Natesa Aiyar, *Trimurti Image in the Peshawar Museum*, in *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1913-14.

48. R. B. Whitehead, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Panjab Museum*, pl. XX, 11; Gardner, *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings . . .*, pl. XXIX, 10; another good specimen is in Boston.

49. Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pl. LX; Chavannes, *Mission archéologique dans la Chine septentrionale*, pl. 224; and appearing in Japan as Dai Itoku.

50. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, fig. 563; Stein, *Ancient Khotan*, pl. LXXXII; Sirén, *Chinese Sculpture*, pp. xxxvii f. (the affinity of style of a great number of Chinese sculptures from the end of the fifth to the beginning of the following century "is so evident and uniform that it hardly needs to be pointed out in detail," and if this is ignored by Foucher, it is because he "made

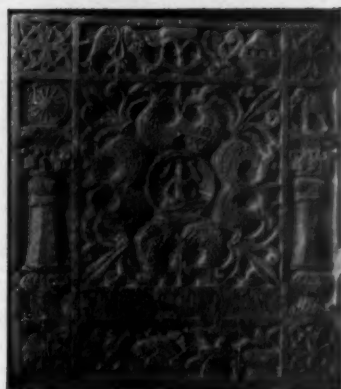
it his task to trace the influence of Gandhāra in as many places as possible"), xli, lxvi, and pls. 116, 117, also *Documents d'art chinois*, pls. XLIX, LIV, LVI (Indian treatment of the hair).

51. *A. S. W. I., Reports*, I, pp. 255, 256. Ahichatra is one of the places where a stupa, traditionally of Aśoka, was erected by the side of a Nāga tank (Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, p. 200).

It may be added that, as is well known, modern standing figures consisting of a human figure with serpent hoods rising from the back between the shoulders, are known as Baldeo (Balarāma); but Balarāma in the *Mahābhārata* is identified with Śeṣa Nāga, and is described as having his head wreathed with snakes (Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 212). It is possible therefore that the iconography is ancient, and not the result of a modern confusion of types.



41



42

Two Ayūgapaṭas with Seated Jinas in the Centers (Mathurā)



43—Pārśvanātha
(Mathurā)



44—Sūrya (Mathurā)



45—Yakṣa with Purse
(Mathurā)



46—Nāga with Attendants (Amarāvati)



47—Yakṣa (Deoriyā)

Early Jina Types, Yakṣas, etc.



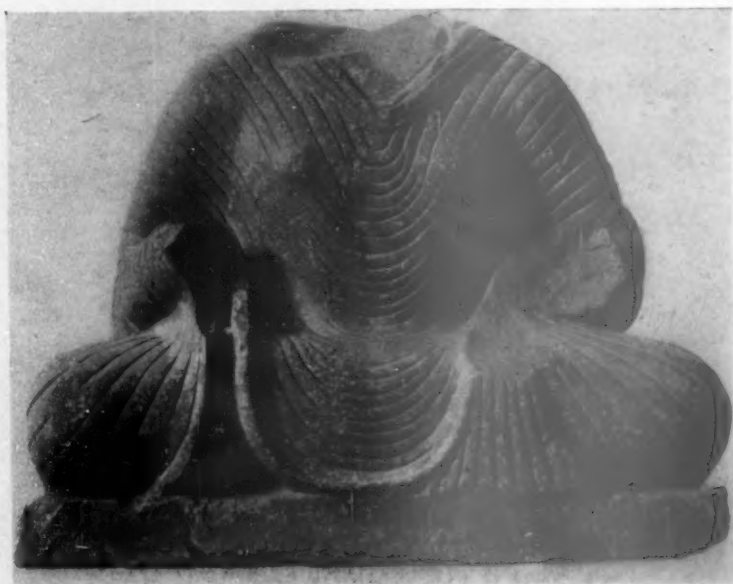
48—*Bodhisattva Maitreya*
(*Mathurā*)



49—*Nāga with Flask*
(*Mathurā*)



50—*Bodhisattva*
(*Mathurā*)



51—*Buddha* (*Mathurā*)



52—*Buddha* (*Mathurā*)

Budda, Bodhisattva, and Nāga Types (Mathurā)

the appearance which would be presented by a seated polycephalous Nāga of the Mathurā or Sāñci⁵² type, and a seated Buddha or Jina sheltered by a Nāga, the only difference being that in the one case the hoods rise from the back between the shoulders, in the other the coiled tail of the Nāga forms a seat, and its whole body is really quite distinct from that of the principal figure. There *may* be a genetic connection here. The polycephalous Nāga is very rarely met with in Gandhāra.

If the Indian Buddha figure, Mathurā type, is not derived from Gandhāra, what is the relation between the two schools, that is to say, in the beginning and during the period preceding the stylistic Indianization of the Gandhāra school? Exactly to what extent Gandhāra iconography is derived from preëxisting Indian forms, either through Mathurā or otherwise, is still a matter for further research. Certainly some Gandhāra sculptures are replicas, or very closely related developments, of preëxisting Indian ones. When Spooner remarks⁵³ of a Bodhisattva fragment found at Takht-i-Bāhī, "The resemblance of this figure to some of the Bhārhut sculpture is remarkable, but of course this can only be accidental," the "of course" seems to be dictated by a preconceived view. The resemblance is not accidental in the case of the *Vessantara Jātaka*⁵⁴ compositions (Fig. 57), or in that of the Gandhāra Vṛkṣakā types (woman-and-tree). M. Foucher, indeed, has himself shown to what an extent Gandhāra made use of older Indian formulae.⁵⁵ How far this was also true in the case of the Buddha figure needs further investigation. I by no means positively assert that Buddha figures were first made in Mathurā and afterwards copied in Gandhāra, though as Goloubew says, that is possible. The Gandhāra school may have been based, like the Northern Wei school in China, mainly on literary traditions. Stylistically, of course, Gandhāra is independent; but hardly more definitely so than China or even Java, and Chinese or Javanese style are no proof of Chinese or Javanese origins. All we can say definitely is that practically every element essential to the iconography of Buddha and Bodhisattva figures appears in early Indian art before the Buddha figure of Gandhāra or Mathurā is known.

5. STYLE AND CONTENT: DIFFERENTIATION OF INDIAN AND HELLENISTIC TYPES

In the previous chapter only the iconographic elements (theme and shape) have been referred to; it remains to point out that the Indian stylistic sequence presents a similar continuity, and to define the distinction of the Indian from the Hellenistic types in respect of content and form.

In the Pārkhām and Deoriyā images (Figs. 2, 3) we have works of archaic aspect, characterized by frontality and an abrupt transition from the plane of the chest to that of the sides; in the Patna image (Fig. 3) the same features are equally evident. These archaic features, of course, are gradually refined upon as time passes. More significant and permanent is the great plastic voluminousness; everything is felt in mass, and nothing

52. As at Sāñci, Fergusson, *Tree and Serpent Worship*, pl. XXIV, 1 and 2.

53. Spooner, *Excavations at Takht-i-Bahī*, in *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1907-08, with reference to fig. 6, *ibid.*

54. Cf. also another Gandhāra example, *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1909-10, pl. XVIII. If the Bhārhut relief had been lost, it would surely have been claimed that this com-

position originated in Gandhāra; and, in fact, Sir Aurel Stein takes this for granted (*Desert Cathay*, I, p. 489). The same composition occurs in a Miran fresco of the second or third century A. D. (Stein, *op. cit.*), and survives in modern Buddhist art (see my *Mediaeval Sinhalese Art*, frontispiece).

55. *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, I, pp. 206 ff.

in outline; this quality is maintained in Indian sculpture until after the Gupta period, while it is the very opposite of what we find in Gandhāra, where sculpture represents the decadence of a tradition, and is, as we should naturally expect, attenuated and linear. The early Indian figures stand symmetrically, with the feet somewhat apart, and this is also the case with later images of the type of Friar Bala's Bodhisattva (Fig. 2). In the early figures the sculptor has at his command an adequate scheme for the representation of the folds of drapery; and this drapery clings closely to the figure. In many Śuṅga and early Andhra works the body is revealed almost as though it were nude. Here again is a feature that is highly characteristic of the early Mathurā Buddhist figures, and of Gupta art generally. In Gandhāra the drapery is treated realistically, the folds rising well above the level of those parts of the material that are actually in contact with the flesh; at Mathurā the treatment is schematic and clinging.

Nothing is more characteristic of the early Indian art than its affirmative force; the Gandhāra style by comparison is listless. This radiation of force is scarcely at all reduced in the Mathurā standing and seated figures, which in this respect, indeed, are somewhat at variance with the dispassionate serenity which we are apt to regard as characteristic of Buddha types. In the early Indian works and up to the end of the second century A. D. there is hardly ever to be found deliberate grace; it is not without reason, though the language may sound strange in the ears of students of art, that some archaeologists have described the Gandhāra figures as graceful, the Mathurā types as clumsy and unwieldy. This only expresses the common and unsophisticated view that regards all early art as "awkward," and all late art as "better;" but in the present connection it serves to exhibit very well the stylistic gulf that separates Gandhāra from Mathurā. In fact the Gandhāra types, like other Hellenistic works, are soft and woolly; those of Mathurā, tense, and even strained. Whatever we may think about the iconography, it would be impossible to imagine a genetic connection of either school with the other in point of style.

Again, the earlier Indian types are products, not of observation, but of cerebration; they are mental abstractions. As Indian culture became more conscious, racial taste was more and more a determining factor in such abstractions. That the model upon which the artist worked was regarded from the standpoint of knowledge, and not of observation, is reflected in the use of *sādhana*s or *dhyāna mantras*, which constitute the main part of the *śilpa śāstras* so far as they are concerned with the making of cult images. No natural form is imitated merely because it is present in nature; on the contrary, all the formulae of art are as much *saṃskṛta*m as Sanskrit itself, and every phrase was intended to have a definite significance. Of course, the art as it develops, comes to have an appearance of greater "truth to nature;" the actuality and spontaneity of the Ajanṭā paintings, for example, have been remarked upon. But it would be an error to suppose that even here we have an unsophisticated art, like that of those who take nature for their model. The Indian theory of knowledge, as M. Masson-Oursel has pointed out⁵⁶ amounts to this, that objects are created by thought, not that preëxisting objects are perceived. Hence the importance of correct thought; and this in relation to art is theoretically a matter of revelation, and secondarily, one of tradition. The forms created by correct thought need

56. *Notes sur l'esthétique indienne* in *Revue des arts asiatiques*, III, 1926. Cf. also Zimmer, *Kunstform und Yoga*, 1926—"Kultbild ist Yantra."

not by any necessity conform to those perceived in nature by untrained perception; all that is necessary is that they should be consistent and significant.

Where we think we recognize an increasing "truth to nature" and assume a closer observation, as in the Ajanṭā paintings referred to, what we have in reality is greater consciousness;⁵⁷ the artist, *mehr einfühlende*, is more aware of the tensions that he represents, and consequently represents them more convincingly. But the corresponding gestures had already been codified in dictionaries of gesture (Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*); and the painter is really using a highly artificial and conventional language of glances, inclinations, and gestures, all with definite significance. When we come to examine his supposed realism more closely, we find that it has no foundation in the observation of anatomy or modeling, and that it depends entirely on an understanding of the psychology of gesture. When later on the same formulae have become rigid habits, this only means that the race has fallen from the high level of consciousness and subtlety that marked the zenith of its culture, not that observation of nature has been abandoned; the suggestion of realism is immediately lost, which is by no means the case in decadent Greek art.

Silpa śāstras were certainly current in the Gupta period; Hsüan Tsang refers to such works as forming a section of the *Śāstras* studied by laymen.⁵⁸ But the use of formulae goes back to a much earlier time. Indians from the beginning were deeply interested in physiognomy, and it is with this preoccupation that a fundamental type like that of the Mahāpuruṣa-Cakravartin was conceived. This theoretical type, with its thirty-two principal marks (*lakṣaṇas*) and other minor marks, is older than the Buddha image, older presumably than the Buddha himself. At least, the Buddha is described as a Mahāpuruṣa in canonical books, and as possessing these marks, of which some are represented in the sculptures. Thus the Buddhist had taken over at an early period from non-Buddhist sources a conception of the Buddha as Mahāpuruṣa or Cakravartin; the *lakṣaṇas* were certainly not the invention of Buddhists, but were taken over by them and applied to the person of the Master. In other words, a definite idea of the Buddha's appearance existed before the time of actual representations; nor did this idea differ from that which a Hindu would have had of the appearance of such a god as Viṣṇu, likewise a Mahāpuruṣa.⁵⁹ That the Buddha could not be regarded as a man in the ordinary sense of the word may be gathered from the words attributed to himself, in reply to the questions of Droṇa, a Brāhman who found him seated at the foot of a tree; was he a Deva, Gandharva, Yakṣa, or man? The Master replies that he is none of these, but a Buddha.⁶⁰ Like the gods, he is anthropomorphic, but not a man; and as a deity he stands with them as a fit and natural subject for iconographic representation.

57. The case of painting is not quite the same as that of the religious sculpture. Painting was to some extent cultivated as a fine art and as an accomplishment. Portraits must certainly have been likenesses. In sculpture, even the effigies of donors are types, rather than likenesses. The sculptor should represent the gods, as Śukrācārya says, not men—though the latter may be pleasing, it is not the way to heaven (*Sukranṭisāra*, IV, iv, 154-157). It is significant that a knowledge of the science of dancing was considered essential to the understanding of painting (*Viṣṇudharmottaram*, III, II, 3).

58. As stated in the *Si yu ki*, Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 78.

59. On the subject of the Mahāpuruṣa, see Laufer, *Das Cūṭralakṣaṇa*, pp. 14 ff.; Grünwedel, *Buddhist Art in India*, pp. 80, 120 ff., 133; Kern, *Manual of Indian Buddhism*, pp. 62, 95; other references, Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, I, p. 1; R. O. Francke, *Der dogmatische Buddha nach dem Dighanikāya*, W. Z. K. M., 28, 1924.

60. *Anguttara Nikāya*, II, 37. Cf. *Lalita Vistara*, ch. xvi, "Is this Brahmā, Indra, or Vaiśravaṇa, or some mountain deity?"

All this mentality and formulation are foreign to the Hellenistic tradition, which represents the last term of a long development that had been determined by a profound interest in human form studied for its own sake. Greek idealism regarded even ideal forms as objective realities, not as fashioned by thought; hence, or in other words, Greek instinct was perceptive and outwardly directed. Even though the story be a myth, it is still significant that a Greek sculptor should have been supposed to have created a perfect type by combining the beauties of five different individuals. An Indian, connoisseur of the beauty of women as he was, would never have resorted to models, because he knew *a priori* in what the beauty of women consisted, or if we can imagine him in doubt, would have consulted a *śāstra*; it would never have occurred to him to find out what it was by turning to nature. The Greeks, like Wordsworth, though not perhaps in quite the same way, were "fond of nature;" and this kind of art they brought to perfection. But while the Indian kind of art in its decadence becomes a repetition of stereotyped formulae no longer felt, the Greek kind in its decadence becomes rhetorical and facile.

We are dealing, in fact, not merely with two different kinds of art, but with two arts in entirely different stages of their development; the Greek already decadent, the Indian still primitive. A serious stylistic influence of a realistic or decadent art upon a formal or primitive art (and we have seen that both distinctions held) could only have been destructive; we have seen too much of the influence of European art on Asiatic art within the last hundred years not to be aware of this; nothing inwardly resembling Gandhāra art had been produced in India before the nineteenth century. The fact that art of the Indian school pursued a normal course (i. e., it "develops") from first to last is not a proof that the refinement of the primitive types was due to external influences, but a proof of continuity in the indigenous tradition.

Apparently only one example of Mathurā sculpture in the round representing a Buddha or Bodhisattva has been regarded as an actual imitation of a Gandhāra prototype.⁶¹ and only one piece of actual Gandhāra sculpture has been found in Mathurā.⁶² It is admitted by all students and will be obvious from the most cursory examination of the accompanying illustrations that the sculptures of Kaniṣka's reign differ so much from Gandhāra types that a genetic connection seems inconceivable.⁶³ It is only in certain reliefs mostly of the middle period (Vāsudeva and later), as justly noted by Codrington,⁶⁴ that Gandhāra influence can be definitely recognized (Figs. 58, 59). The Dhruv Tilā stupa drum⁶⁵ described by Foucher as a "*caricature lamentablement indianisée*"⁶⁶ must be reckoned amongst these.

Why did not the Mathurā craftsman adopt more freely Hellenistic mannerisms? I think it was mainly because the required types lay ready to hand in the local tradition. The transition from a Buddha type like that of the Ujjain coin (Fig. 9) to a designated Go(tama) Boydo (the legend of Kaniṣka's seated Buddha coin), and from a *padmapāṇi*

61. A 47 in the Mathurā Museum, Vogel, in *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1906-07, p. 15.

62. F 42 in the Mathurā Museum, Burgess, *Ancient Monuments*, pls. 56, 57.

63. See my *Indian Origin of the Buddha Image*, *J. A. O. S.*, XLVI, p. 169.

64. *Ancient India*, p. 47.

65. V. A. Smith, *The Jain Stupa of Mathurā*, pls. CV-CVII.

66. In *J. A.*, X, 11, 1903, p. 323.

attendant to an attendant Padmapāṇi took place almost unnoticed. That which seems to us a kind of artistic revolution really implied no new iconographic invention; it involved a new terminology much more than a new art. India had long been familiar with images of gods; Patañjali, presumably in the second century B. C., speaks of images of Śiva, Skandha, and Viśākha, not to mention other and earlier indications and the known Yakṣa figures. The whole process belongs to the theistic development which had been taking place, and is naturally reflected in the substitution of anthropomorphic figures for the older abstract symbolism. Buddhism cannot be considered alone; that Buddha had come to be regarded as Devatideva, God of gods, shows that, as usual, each religion is affected by the current tendency. There is no canonical proscription of images in Buddhist literature, early or late; and very soon the Buddhist authors take it for granted that images had been made even in the Buddha's own lifetime.

Mathurā sculptors, then, had no more occasion to adopt the Hellenistic iconography or style than they had to replace their own Brāhmī by Kharoṣṭhī, which must have been the official script of Kaniṣka's capitals at Peshāwar and Kapiśa. I do not believe that the slightest prejudice against Gandhāra art, as such, existed; or if so, only as an instinctive taste, the nature of which is indicated in Le Coq's just remark: "*Allen Asiaten erscheinen Europaergesichter (also auch die der Hellenen) sehr unschön.*"⁶⁷ I once showed to a Kandyian craftsman, a descendant of *śilpīns* and *ācāryas*, and proficient in his art, a good example of European design, rather thinking he would admire it; in fact, however, he seemed neither attracted nor repelled, and merely remarked, "*Ek eka raṭa, ek eka veḍa,*" that is, "every country has its own style." I believe that a Mathurā craftsman would have regarded a Gandhāra work in the same way.

It must be remembered too that Buddhist and Hindu images were not regarded and never have been regarded in India as works of art; they were made as means of edification. Prestige attached to sanctity, not to style; the same situation may be observed in modern times in connection with such relatively uncouth types as those of the Śrī Nātha-jī⁶⁸ of Nāthadvār and Jagannātha of Purī, of which painted replicas are constantly made, adhering rigidly to type, regardless of the availability of much more attractive (humanly speaking) Kṛṣṇa and Viṣṇu types. The modern imager is totally unaware of stylistic degeneration; in the same way he must in early times have been unaware of the virtue of his art. He did not think at all in terms of our connoisseurship; the plastic style of his day came to him as naturally as the spoken language, and both as a matter of course. Particular images would only be copied on account of their special sanctity, not because of their artistic merits.⁶⁹ Particular places would only become centers of distribution, as Mathurā was, or as Jaipur still is, because the religious importance and prosperity of such places during an extended period had necessitated the existence there of ateliers, able to

67. *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kunstgeschichte Mittelasiens*, p. 28. Cf. Lafcadio Hearn, *About Faces in Japanese Art*, in *Gleanings in Buddha Fields*.

68. It is perhaps worth while to remark here that the image of Śrī Nātha-jī which was found underground near Mathurā, and subsequently removed to Nāthadvāra near Udaipur, still the main sanctuary of the Vallabhācāryas, may well be in fact a Kuṣāna Buddha. The image, so far as I know, has never been photographed or published, but

the painted replicas show a standing figure, with the left hand on the hip, and the right raised in *abhaya mudrā*, with a certain angularity suggestive of early Mathurā types. This would not be by any means an isolated instance of the later worship of an old Mathurā Buddhist figure under the name of a Hindu deity.

69. In this fact there is nothing peculiar to Indian psychology: the same has held good from first to last in the history of Christian iconographic art.

supply the needs of the devout inhabitants or pilgrims. Now we know that in the time of Kaniṣka Mathurā was a most important Buddhist center, probably the most important in India; as remarked by Przyluski⁷⁰ in quite another connection, "*Mathurā eût parmi les communautés bouddhiques une situation privilégiée*;" and it played a very great part in the dissemination of the faith. This being so, it is not in the least surprising that the Mathurā school should have played such an important part as it did in the history of Buddhist art.⁷¹

We are able, moreover, to trace the influence of the Mathurā types, not only at Amarāvati, but as the formative basis of Gupta art, by means of archaeological data, and not only by stylistic evidence. In the time of Kaniṣka Mathurā had already such a reputation that Buddha and Bodhisattva images were exported thence to Sāñcī, Prayāg, Amīn (near Thanesar), Kasiā, Śrāvastī, Pāṭaliputra, Sārnāth, Bodhgayā, Rājagṛha, and to many parts of the Panjāb, including even Taxila. At Sārnāth, copies of Mathurā types have been definitely recognized. In the Gupta period, while local ateliers had developed at places like Sārnāth and Sāñcī, Mathurā sculptures were still exported to these and other sites. These facts sufficiently explain the close relation of the Kuṣāna and Gupta forms.

Gupta art bears within itself the proof of its Indian origins. As Dr. Laufer has remarked, one has no need of the panoply of anthropology to recognize that the Buddha types of Ajanṭā are representations of true Indians, and have no connection with the sculpture of Gandhāra; they are "*echt indisch und haben keinen Gandhara-geruch*."⁷² This is only what has been remarked by Vincent Smith, Goloubew, and Foucher himself, in connection with the sculpture.⁷³ The Gupta type is a normal and direct development of the Mathurā type; and this Gupta type is the dominating model underlying all those of Farther India and Indonesia. We have only to look at a sequence of examples beginning with the Pārkhām image (Fig. 2) and culminating in the Mathurā types of the Gupta period (Fig. 5) to realize that there is no room at any point in the development for the intercalation of any model based on Hellenistic tradition. If such an influence was exerted, and to some extent it can be recognized in the middle Kuṣāna period, it was so slight and ephemeral as to have become unrecognizable within a century, or at the most within two centuries.

70. J. Przyluski, *Aśokavadāna*, 1923, p. 9.

71. A fact more than once emphasized by Vogel (in *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1909-10, p. 78, and *Catalogue Mathurā Museum*, p. 28), who can only have regarded it as "not a little curious" because of his preconception that it should have been not Mathurā, but Gandhāra, that exercised a great influence on Buddhist art in other parts of India.

72. Laufer, *Das Cūṭralakṣaṇa*, p. 16.

73. References to the statements made in this and the preceding paragraph will be found in my *Indian Origin of the Buddha Image*, in *J. A. O. S.*, XLVI, 1926. In addition, Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, p. 611: "*ce sont les répliques de Mathurā qui ont servi de modèle à Bénarès, et ce sont les répliques de Bénarès que le Magadha a copiées à son tour . . . Son évolution . . . se traduit encore et toujours par l'élimination progressive de l'élément étranger sous la pression du goût indigène*"; and Sahni, *Guide to Sārnāth*, 1926 ed., p. 11: "The arrival of this (Friar Bala's) statue at Sārnāth must have been so welcome

that local artists at once set to work and the Sārnāth Museum contains two statues (Ba 2 and 3) which are almost exact copies of the one from Mathurā. Vincent Smith goes so far as to say that "The style of the Sārnāth works (of Kuṣāna date) is so closely related to that of Mathurā that illustrations may be dispensed with." The Sārnāth types of Buddha and Bodhisattva images which followed are rightly regarded as the finest creations of the Gupta period. It was no wonder therefore, that this new art so rapidly spread not only to the rest of India, but also to the neighboring countries of Siam, Cambodia, and Ceylon." It will be seen that all that is required to establish a Hellenistic origin of the Buddha image as it appears in the Gupta period, fully evolved, is to show that Friar Bala's Bodhisattva type (Fig. 4) is a "*réplique*" of the Gandhāra type (e. g., Fig. 53). When this has been done, I shall be ready to accept the Greek theory, bag and baggage.

6. DATING OF GANDHĀRA AND MATHURĀ BUDDHAS

Here we know nothing for certain; and what we do not know cannot be used with much cogency in support of any argument. Nor can the question of dates, whatever discoveries may be in store for us, ever by itself provide us with a final solution of our problem. For, if the Gandhāra Buddhas could be proved older than any Mathurā ones, this would not alter the admitted fact that the conception of the figure is Indian, nor the equally obvious fact that the earliest Indian Buddha figures are in stylistic and iconographic continuity with the older indigenous art. Nor, on the other hand, if priority could be proved for the Mathurā types would it alter the fact that the Gandhāra types are Hellenistic in style; the iconography in Gandhāra might still have been derived from elements already present in early Indian art, or constructed from literary sources, and a Mathurā origin of the Buddha image in Gandhāra would not be proven. Nor would it alter the fact that a considerable element of Hellenistic style can be followed across Central Asia into China, Korea, and Japan, nor the fact that even in India definite traces of the Gandhāran influence can be detected. Nevertheless, it will be worth while to recapitulate the few available facts, and refer to some of the conclusions that have been or may be drawn from them.

Advocates of the Hellenistic theory assume, and probably rightly, that the best works are the earliest, and, further, opine that the Gandhāra school, so far as the earliest Buddha figures are concerned, developed in the first century B. C. The Bīmarān reliquary excavated by Masson in Afghanistan before 1840 has been assigned to the first century B. C. on account of coins of Azes associated with it;⁷⁴ but methods of excavation nearly ninety years ago were not by any means as critical as they are now, coins in any case merely provide a *terminus post quem*, and Wilson himself was of the opinion that the stupas of Afghanistan "are undoubtedly all subsequent to the Christian era."⁷⁵ Marshall dates the reliquary about the beginning of the Christian era; of Gandhāra sculptures in general he remarks more cautiously that "it may be safely asserted that a number of them . . . are anterior to the reign of Kaniṣka."⁷⁶ From the inferior workmanship and *deja stéréotypée* character of the Buddha figures on the Kaniṣka reliquary (Fig. 56), made by Agesila subsequent to 120 A. D. (the date of Kaniṣka's accession here assumed, *vide infra*), Foucher and others have concluded that the period of the finest work must be pushed back to the first century B. C.⁷⁷ This is a rather bold inference to draw from the inferior workmanship of a single object, even though it would seem that it must have been one of importance. Marshall holds that "considerations of style do not permit us to determine the chronological sequence with any approach to accuracy."⁷⁸

Three dated Gandhāra figures have been found; but it is not known to what era the dates refer. On the assumptions that have been made, the date of a standing figure from Loriyān Tangai is 6 A. D.⁷⁹ and that of a standing figure, and of a pedestal with a seated

74. Bachofer, *Zur Datierung der Gandhara Plastik*, p. 14 ("keine zweifel zu, das es in die Zeit des Azes I gehört").

75. *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 322.

76. *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 648; *Guide to Taxila*, p. 60.

77. *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, II, p. 443; Spooner, in *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1908-09, p. 50.

78. *Guide to Taxila*, p. 31; *Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 648.

79. Bachofer, *op. cit.*; Vogel, *Inscribed Gandhara Sculptures*, in *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1903-04. Foucher assigns the date 4 B. C. If we assume the Vikrama era which is used on the Dharmarājikā silver scroll (Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, p. 52), the date Samvat 318 becomes equivalent to c. 262 A. D. Fleet, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 999, points out that a use of the Śaka era would make the date 396 A. D. It will be realized that the selection of eras in the various interpretations of Gandhāra Buddha image dates is often *tendenziös*.

figure, both from Haṣṭnagar, 72 A. D.⁸⁰ The Bodhisattva illustrated in Fig. 55 is not dated, but is assigned by Bachofer to the third quarter of the first century A. D. More reliable than any of these doubtful cases is the very definite negative evidence provided by scientific excavations at Taxila. Here the Scytho-Parthian and early Kuṣāna strata at the Dharmarājikā site have not yielded a single fragment of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture.⁸¹ At Sirkap, the city in occupation at Taxila from the second century B. C. to the time of Wima Kadphises, c. 75-80 A. D., not a single piece of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture appears in the long list of finds;⁸² the only sculpture of any kind in Gandhāra stone is a small figure in the round of a semi-nude goddess holding a lotus flower, quite an old Indian type, and in style intermediate between Indian and Hellenistic. The terra cotta and stucco heads from the apsidal Buddhist temple include no Buddhas or Bodhisattvas. This is very significant negative evidence, and seems to indicate that Gandhāra Buddha figures can hardly have been made until a little before the time of Kanishka. All that we can be quite sure of is that the Gandhāra school of Buddhist sculpture was most productive in the time of Kanishka, a point on which almost all authorities are agreed.⁸³

The date of Kanishka is not yet a fact established beyond dispute; datings have ranged from 58 B. C. to the third century A. D., the substantial controversy being between those who support the date 78 A. D. and those who support the date 120 or 125 A. D. The date c. 120 A. D. adopted here is regarded by Marshall as proved by the results of excavation, and has been accepted by Vincent Smith and Sten Konow. The point is not essential to our study, where the relative dating alone is of significance.

Friar Bala's Bodhisattva at Sārnāth is dated in the third year of Kanishka, thus c. 123 A. D. The Kaṭrā Bodhisattva and Aṇyora Buddha from Mathurā have inscriptions palaeographically similar, and must be of the same period. A large number of other Buddha figures from Mathurā, some in the round, others in relief, are identical in style and must be dated near the same time; some are probably a little earlier than Kanishka, most of the others of this type assignable to his reign or that of Huviṣka. We are certainly not entitled to assume that Friar Bala's figure or any of the other figures in our possession was the first of its kind ever made. Nor is it conceivable that an image exported to Sārnāth, not to mention those of Mathurā origin found at other sites, should have been one of the

80. Bachofer; Vogel, *loc. cit.* It should be noted that the former takes Kanishka's date as 78 A. D., and using the 1904 edition of Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* fails to observe that Smith since returned to the date 120 A. D., in agreement with Marshall and Konow. Smith (in *J. A. S. B.*, 1889) assigned the Haṣṭnagar pedestal to the fourth century A. D., and this dating would in fact hold good if we assume the era of Azes, the numeral of the actual inscription being 384. Fleet, in *J. R. A. S.*, 1913, p. 999, uses the Vikrama era, making the date 343 A. D.

81. Marshall, in *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1912-13, pt. I, p. 12.

82. For lists of Sirkap finds, see Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, ch. VI, and *Excavations at Taxila*, in *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1912-13, 1914-15, 1919-20.

For the Sirkap statuette see *A. S. I., A. R.*, 1919-20, p. 20 and pl. IX; and cf. the same type in Egypt, a terra cotta of about the beginning of the Christian era, Berstl, *op. cit.*, p. 173 and pl. 103, 2. The type recurs on the

Limarowka vase and in other places cited by E. Herzfeld, *Die Malereien von Samarra* (abb. 5, etc.).

The absence of Buddhist and Jaina sculpture at Sirkap is the more striking as the architectural remains prove Buddhism and Jainism to have been flourishing.

83. Foucher, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhara*, I, p. 42; Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 258; Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, p. 132; Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, 2nd ed., 1920, p. xiv. During the third and fourth centuries A. D. the Gandhāra school continued to flourish abundantly, but the stone is largely replaced by terra cotta and stucco, and the type becomes thoroughly Indianized (see Marshall, *Stūpa and Monastery of Jauliāñ*, in *Mem. A. S. I.*, VII, 1921). The monasteries seem to have been destroyed and the activity of the school brought to an end by the Hūṇa invasions at the end of the fifth century.



53—Buddha



54—Buddha Teaching



55—Bodhisattva



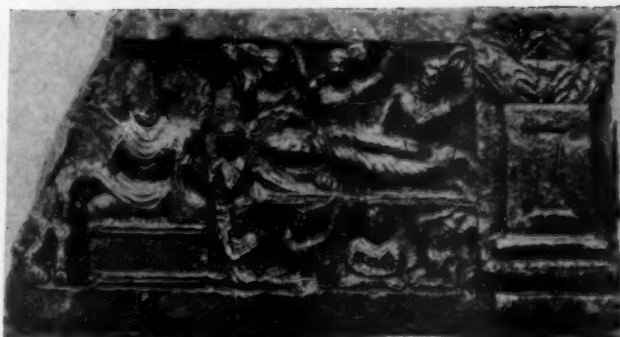
56—Kanishka's Reliquary (Peshāwar)



57—Vessantara Jātaka



58—Six Scenes from Life of Buddha



59—Two Scenes from Life of Buddha

53-57—Gandhāra Types; 58, 59—Reliefs from Mathurā Showing Some Gandhāra Features



60—*Buddha with two Attendants (Yakṣas),
Amarāvātī School*



61—*Buddha (Māṅkuwār)*



62—*Buddha (Sāñcī)*



63—*Buddha (Sāñcī)*



64—*Jina (Mathurā)*



65—*Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi (Ceylon)*



66—*Buddha (Nepal)*



67—*Pārśvanātha (Kannāḍa)*

Buddha, Jina, and Bodhisattva Types

first Buddha images ever made; however quickly the fashion developed, however great the prestige of the Mathurā ateliers may already have been, some time must have elapsed between the first acceptance of the type in Mathurā and the development of a general demand for Mathurā Buddha images at other and distant sites throughout the Ganges valley. These considerations compel us to suppose that Buddha images must have been made in Mathurā soon after the middle of the first century A. D., at least before the end of the century.

It should be observed that the Jaina *āyāgaṇas* from Mathurā bearing Jina figures of the same type as that of the seated Buddha figures have Brāhmī inscriptions which seem to be pre-Kuṣāna; that they were dated by Bühler in the first century B. C. depended, however, on an earlier dating of Kanīṣka than that now adopted. A reexamination of the inscriptions is needed; all that we can say is that these slabs may well be assigned provisionally to the middle of the first century A. D.⁸⁴

As regards the Buddha figure on an Ujjain coin (Fig. 9) I see no reason at present to date this before the first century A. D.; the fact that a coin of the same class and character bears a figure of a three-headed Maheśa, notwithstanding that it has been assigned to the second century B. C.,⁸⁵ is in itself evidence that the general type should be assigned to the first or even the second century A. D.

The so-called Buddha figures on the coins of Maues and Kadapha (Kadphises I) are indeed dateable, and the former would take us back to the beginning of the first century B. C. As stated above, however, I do not think that these can be accepted as Buddha figures; all that they certainly show is a type closely related to that of the seated Buddha figure when it finally appears and can be recognized without possibility of error.

It will be seen from what has been said above that the whole evidence for the dating of Gandhāra Buddha types in the first century B. C. or early first century A. D. rests upon five objects, of which three are dated in unknown eras, one excavated nearly a hundred years ago is dated on the evidence of coins alone, and one is of the Kanīṣka period. This is a very slender foundation upon which to base an argument flatly at variance with the evidence of the excavations at Taxila. The balance of real evidence tends to show that the Buddha figure came into general use somewhat before the beginning of the reign of Kanīṣka, and not more than fifty years at most, if so much, before his accession. The evidence is not sufficiently precise to warrant us in forming a theory as to the priority of either school. I am inclined to presume on general grounds a priority for Mathurā; but that is not evidence. All that we can assert is that the earliest Buddha types in each area are in the local style; and that later on, though some mutual influence was felt, the outstanding character of the development is one of stylistic Indianization in Gandhāra, and one of adherence to the Mathurā type in the Ganges valley, subject to the normal stylistic

84. See p. 304 above. Many of these *āyāgaṇas* are illustrated by Vincent Smith, *The Jain Stūpa of Mathurā*.

One of the slabs from the Kaṅkālī Tīlā is dated in the reign of Śoḍāsa and is thus pre-Kuṣāna, but it is hardly safe to assume that the slabs with Jina figures are of the same age.

85. The Maheśa is illustrated by Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, pl. X, 6. Rapson, *Indian Coins*, p. 14,

justly remarks that there does not exist sufficient evidence to arrange the early Ujjain coins in chronological order. The ascription of the Maheśa type to the second century B. C. will be found in the *Cambridge History of India*, p. 532, the coin being again illustrated in pl. V, 19. But no polycephalous type is certainly older than the reign of Vāsudeva, and it is impossible to date the Ujjain coin before the second century A. D.

evolution which marks the transition from Kuṣāna to Gupta types. Great scorn has been poured upon the view that Gupta art would have been just what it is had the Graeco-Buddhist school of Gandhāra never existed, and of course such a statement could not be literally defended; yet I am prepared to assert that the Hellenistic element actually traceable in Gupta art is really insignificant. In view of the considerations and facts brought forward above, it becomes impossible to treat the phrase "Greek origin of the Buddha image" as representing anything more than a rhetorical misuse of language; if art of the Gandhāra school, as its students admit, is half Indian, art of the Kuṣāna and Gupta periods in the Ganges valley is altogether Indian, for it deals with the same ideas, and uses a plastic language that is in direct continuity with that of the preceding centuries.

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- FIG. 1—Typical Buddha figure, seated in *dhyāna*; curly hair, but the *uṣṇīṣa* is not preserved. Over life-size. C. third-fourth century A. D. Anurādhapura, Ceylon, *in situ*.
- FIG. 2—Yakṣa. From Besnagar. Over life-size. (Cf. Fig. 47.) Usually assigned to the third century B. C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- FIG. 3—Yakṣa. From Patna. Second century B. C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- FIG. 4—Friar Bala's Bodhisattva (Buddha), made in Mathurā and set up at Sārnāth. Over life-size. (Cf. Figs. 18, 31.) Dated in the third year of Kaniṣka, i. e., 123 A. D. Sārnāth Museum.
- FIG. 5—Buddha. From Mathurā. Typical Gupta example. Over life-size. (Cf. Fig. 33.) Mathurā Museum.
- FIG. 6—Coin of Maues. Enlarged. (Gardner, *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings* . . . , XVII, 5.) C. 100 or 80 B. C.
- FIG. 7—Coin of Azes. (Whitehead, *Cat. Coins Panjab Museum*, XI, 195.) C. 58 B. C.
- FIG. 8—Coin of Kadapha (Kadphises I, c. 40-78 A. D.).
- FIG. 9—Ujjain coin, with seated Buddha on lotus, beside railed tree with *chatra*. Enlarged. (Cunningham, *Coins of Ancient India*, X, 10.) Probably first century, A. D.
- FIG. 10—Coin of Kaniṣka, with seated Buddha. (Whitehead, *loc. cit.*, pl. XX, viii.) 120-165 A. D.
- FIG. 11—Coin of Kaniṣka, with standing Buddha. (Gardner, *loc. cit.*, pl. XVII, 2.)
- FIG. 12—Coin of Kaniṣka, with standing Buddha. British Museum.
- FIG. 13—Kupiro Yakho (Kubera Yakṣa). From Bharhut. Early second century B. C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- FIG. 14—Yakṣa with *caurī*, summit of north *torāṇa*. Sāñcī, *in situ*. C. 100 B. C.
- FIG. 15—Indra as the Brahman Śānti. Bodhgayā, *in situ*. C. 100 B. C.
- FIG. 16—Bodhisattva. From Mathurā. C. 100 A. D. Mathurā Museum.
- FIG. 17—Bodhisattva Maitreya, Dhyāni Buddha in headdress, *amṛta* flask in left hand. From Mathurā. C. 100 A. D. Lucknow Museum.
- FIG. 18—Buddha. From Mathurā. (Cf. Fig. 4.) C. 100 A. D. Lucknow Museum.

- FIG. 19—The *Abhinīṣkramaṇa* of Buddha. 100-50 B. C. East *torāṇa*, front, middle architrave, Sāñcī, *in situ*.
- FIG. 20—Buddha triad. C. 100 B. C. Three uprights between architraves of the north *torāṇa*, Sāñcī, *in situ*.
- FIG. 21—The First Sermon in the Deer Park, Benares. Detail of a pediment from Mathurā. C. 100 A. D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- FIG. 22—Detail from the same pediment; above, the Bowl-Relic on an altar with nimbus; below, the Bodhi-tree (Great Enlightenment of the Buddha).
- FIG. 23—Sujātā approaching the Bodhi-tree, beneath which the Buddha is understood to be seated immediately prior to the Enlightenment. C. 100 B. C. Detail of middle architrave, north *torāṇa*, Sāñcī, *in situ*.
- FIG. 24—Nāga standing under a tree. From railing, Pāṭaliputra. Third or early second century B. C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- FIG. 25—Men seated in yoga pose, cross-legged, in the windows of an upper story. Early second century B. C. Railing medallion, from Bharhut. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- FIG. 26—The Nāga Erāpata worshipping the Buddha (represented by the Bodhi-tree and altar). Early second century B. C. Bharhut.
- FIG. 27—Digha instructing his disciples. From the rail coping, Bharhut. Early second century B. C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- FIG. 28—Stupa with worshippers; representing the *Parinirvāṇa* of the Buddha. Early second century B. C. Bharhut.
- FIG. 29—*Vessantara Jātaka*: Gift of the Elephant. From the rail coping, Bharhut. Early second century B. C. Indian Museum, Calcutta.
- FIG. 30—Head of Buddha. From Gandhāra. Early second century A. D. (?) Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- FIG. 31—Head of Buddha. From Mathurā. Early second century A. D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- FIG. 32—Head of Bodhisattva, probably Maitreya, with Dhyāni Buddha in headdress. From Gandhāra. Early second century A. D. Field Museum, Chicago.
- FIG. 33—Head of Buddha, typical Gupta type. From Mathurā. Fifth century A. D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- FIG. 34—Bodhisattva (so called in inscription). From Kaṭrā mound, Mathurā. Early second century A. D. Mathurā Museum.
- FIG. 35—Buddha, similar to the last. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- FIG. 36—Bodhisattva Maitreya, with *amṛta* flask in left hand. Detail of pediment, Mathurā. C. 100 A. D. (?) Mathurā Museum.
- FIG. 37—Seated Buddha or Bodhisattva with turban. From Mathurā. Second century A. D. Property of Messrs. Yamanaka.
- FIG. 38—Above, the Buddha teaching; below, the Great Enlightenment. Detail of same pediment as Fig. 36.

- FIG. 39—Seated Buddha or Bodhisattva, similar to Figs. 34, 35, and 38 above. From Mathurā. Early second century A. D. Mathurā Museum.
- FIG. 40—The visit of Indra to the Buddha in the Indra-sāla guhā; on the upper right, the Yakṣa Vajrapāṇi, below, with mitre-like crown, Indra. From Mathurā. Second century A. D. Present location unknown; formerly the property of L. Rosenberg, Paris.
- FIG. 41—*Ayāgapāṭa*, with seated Jina in center, attended by two Yakṣas. From Mathurā. Late first century A. D. (?) Lucknow Museum.
- FIG. 42—Another *āyāgapāṭa*, in the center a seated Jina without attendants. Same source and present location.
- FIG. 43—The Jina Pārśvanātha. From Mathurā. C. 100 A. D. (?) Mathurā Museum.
- FIG. 44—Sūrya, the Sun-god, winged, with nimbus, in a chariot drawn by four horses. From Mathurā. First century A. D. (?) Mathurā Museum.
- FIG. 45—Yakṣa with a purse, probably Kuvera. From Achnagar, near Mathurā. Second or third century A. D. Present location unknown.
- FIG. 46—Nāga with two attendants supported by *makaras*. From railing pillar, Amarāvati. Late second century A. D. Madras Museum.
- FIG. 47—Yakṣa, Deoriyā, Allahābād. The deity wears a turban, and has a chatra over his head. (Cf. Fig. 18.) Third century B. C.
- FIG. 48—Bodhisattva Maitreya, with the *amṛta* flask in the left hand. (Cf. Fig. 49.) First century A. D. (?) Timken (Burnet) Collection, New York.
- FIG. 49—Nāga, with a flask in the left hand. (Cf. Fig. 48, and also *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1919-20, pl. XXI, b, the same type seated, mediaeval, called Nāgārjuna, but in Vogel, *Indian Serpent Lore*, pl. XIV, designated a Nāga. Cf. also the Nāga Dadhikarṇa with a flask, *A. S. I.*, *A. R.*, 1924-5, pl. XL, a.) First century A. D. (?) Author's collection.
- FIG. 50—Bodhisattva. From Mathurā. Early second century A. D. (?) University Museum, Philadelphia.
- FIG. 51—Buddha. From Mathurā. Second century A. D. Present location unknown.
- FIG. 52—Buddha. From Mathurā. Third century A. D. Present location unknown.
- FIG. 53—Buddha. From Gandhāra. C. 100 A. D. (?)
- FIG. 54—Buddha. From Gandhāra. C. 100 A. D.
- FIG. 55—Bodhisattva. From Gandhāra (Sahr-i-Bahlol). C. 100 A. D. (?)
- FIG. 56—Reliquary of Kaniṣka. From Peshāwar. Second quarter of second century A. D. Calcutta Museum.
- FIG. 57—*Vessantara Jātaka*. From Gandhāra. (Cf. Fig. 29.) Second or third century A. D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- FIG. 58—Six scenes from the life of the Buddha. From Mathurā. (This and the next show some Gandhāra features.) Second century A. D. Mathurā Museum.
- FIG. 59—Two scenes from the life of the Buddha. From Mathurā. Second century A. D. Mathurā Museum.

- FIG. 60—Seated Buddha, with two attendant caurī-bearers (Yakṣas). School of Amarāvātī. About 200 A. D. Field Museum, Chicago.
- FIG. 61—Buddha. From Māṅkuwār. Inscription dated equivalent to 448/9 A. D.
- FIG. 62—Buddha. From Mathurā. Late second century A. D. (?) Sāñcī, *in situ*.
- FIG. 63—Buddha. Fifth century A. D. Sāñcī, *in situ*.
- FIG. 64—Jina with two Yakṣa attendants. Mediaeval. Mathurā Museum.
- FIG. 65—The Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, copper. From Ceylon. Ninth century. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- FIG. 66—Buddha, copper, Nepal. C. tenth century. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- FIG. 67—The Jina Pārśvanātha, bronze, Kannaḍa. Mediaeval. Kay collection, Madras.
- FIG. 68—Buddha. From Dong Duong, Annam, possibly of Indian or Sinhalese manufacture. C. third century A. D. Hanoi Museum.
- FIG. 69—Buddha. From Mathurā. Third century A. D. Mathurā Museum.
- FIG. 70—Buddha. From Anurādhapura, Ceylon. Third or fourth century A. D. Colombo Museum.
- FIG. 71—Buddha. Said to have been found in Burma, but probably of Indian manufacture. C. sixth century A. D. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.
- FIG. 72—Buddha. From Sārnāth. C. fifth century A. D. Sārnāth Museum.
- FIG. 73—Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi. From Sārnāth. C. fifth century A. D. Sārnāth Museum.

APPENDIX

As remarked by Kern (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p. 94), "There is no lack of legends anent the origin of Buddha images, but it would be difficult to discover in those tales, which are wholly discordant, something like a historical nucleus. Nothing definite results from the legends, except the fact that images of the Tathāgata were venerated by the faithful at the time of the tales being invented." The stories are well known. Most of the references will be found in Kern, *loc. cit.*, p. 94; see also J. Hackin, *Illustrations tibétaines d'une légende du Divyāvadāna*, in *Ann. du Musée Guimet, Bib. de Vulg.*, XL, 1914. I have not thought it worth while to cite any of these stories above. But there are some which are of considerable interest in connection with what has been said about the lay origin of the cult, the analogy with images of other deities in current use, and the hesitation with which a Buddha image was at first accepted as orthodox. The citations below are of interest as illustrating the psychology of those whose devotional feelings led to the use of Buddha images.

The *Mahāvamsa*, V, 90 ff., written no doubt when images were already well known, very naturally ascribes to Aśoka a desire to behold the likeness of Buddha. " 'Let us behold,' he is made to say, 'the form of the omiscient Great Sage, of him who hath boundless knowledge, who hath set rolling the Wheel of the True Doctrine.' " Then a Nāga king in response to this expressed desire "created a beauteous figure of the Buddha, endowed with the thirty-two greater signs and brilliant with the eighty lesser signs, surrounded by the fathom-long rays of glory and adorned with the crown of flames."

In the *Divyāvadāna*, ch. LXXVII, Upagupta compels Māra to exhibit himself in the shape of Buddha. Upagupta bows down to the form thus produced, and Māra is shocked at this apparent worship of himself and protests. Upagupta explains that he is adoring not Māra, but the person represented, "just as people venerating earthen images of gods do not revere the clay but the immortal ones represented by them. . . ."

"Indeed, I am well aware of this, that the foremost of teachers has passed away into Nirvāṇa, yet beholding his lovely likeness (*nayanakāntām ākṛtiṃ*), I have bowed to that Rsi; it is not you whom I worship."

Analogous to the coming into use of a Buddha icon is the first use of the Buddha legend as material for a drama. In this connection the Kah-gyur (Schieffner, *Tibetan Tales*, no. XIII) has a story about an actor, who went first to the Nāga Nanda, a faithful worshipper of the Buddha (in whose lifetime the events are supposed to have taken place), to obtain from him the necessary data for the drama. Nanda, on hearing the purpose for which the information was required, refused contemptuously: "Wretched man," he said, "do you wish us to portray the Teacher for you? begone, for I will tell you nothing." The actor, however, obtained the required information from a learned nun and composed his drama. "He pitched a booth in Rājagṛha on the day when the festival of the Nāgarājas Girika and Sundara was celebrated and sounded a drum. And when a great crowd had collected, he exhibited in a drama . . . events in the life of Bhagavant, in harmony with the Abhinīṣkramaṇa Sūtra. Thereby the performers and the assembled crowds were confirmed in the faith. And they uttered sounds of approval, and he made a large profit."

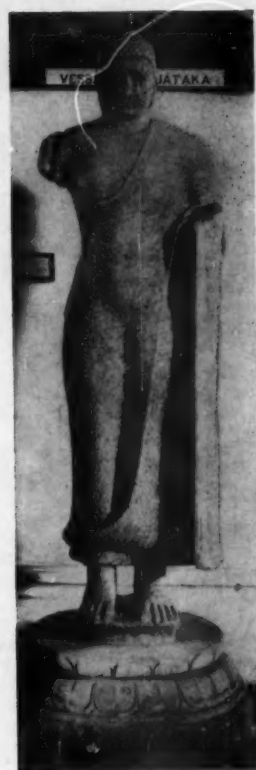
All this must have been very like what took place when Buddha images first came into use. Incidentally it has some value for the history of the Indian drama.



68—Buddha (Annam)



69—Buddha (Mathurā)



70—Buddha (Ceylon)



71—Buddha "Burma"



72—Buddha (Sārnāth)



73—Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi (Sārnāth)

Late Kuṣāṇa and Gupta Buddhas and Bodhisattvas



FIG. 1—Cairo, Museum; *Raising of Lazarus and Healing of the Blind Man, on an Ivory Comb from Antinoë*



FIG. 2—Rome, Vatican Library: *Healing of the Blind Man, on an Ivory Pyxis*



FIG. 3—Rome, Vatican Library: *Healing of the Paralytic and the Woman with the Issue of Blood, and Raising of Lazarus, on an Ivory Pyxis*

AN IVORY PYXIS IN THE MUSEO CRISTIANO AND A PLAQUE FROM THE SANCTA SANCTORUM*

BY EDWARD CAPPS, JR.

IN the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library is an ivory pyxis on which are represented four miracles from the life of Christ. They are the Raising of Lazarus and the Healing of the Woman with the Issue of Blood, the Healing of the Man Born Blind, and the Healing of the Paralytic (Figs. 2 and 3).

The scenes run around the outside of the pyxis¹ and are composed of nine figures, Christ appearing twice and in each case distinguished by the scepter cross which he carries. All the figures are short-haired, beardless, and of approximately the same height, with the exception of the blind man and Lazarus, who are somewhat smaller in stature for both iconographical and practical reasons. They are represented in three-quarters or front view and are clothed in long robes reaching almost to the ankles, save for the paralytic, who wears the usual short tunic. The feet of most of the figures are encased in an unusual type of sandal, open in front; the paralytic wears the ordinary high buskin. Behind is an architectural background, rendered in a very sketchy fashion, which consists of five pilasters with plain capitals supporting four flat arches. Between the scenes of the Healing of the Man Born Blind and the Raising of Lazarus is a square, slightly raised key-plate, which formerly held a monogram of Christ. Beneath it is a curious box or casket, shaped somewhat like a truncated pyramid and decorated with cross-like incisions.

The earliest mention of the Vatican pyxis is in the monumental work of Gori² published in 1759; it was then in the sacristy of Milan Cathedral and is figured by him as it appears at present, with the key-plate plain (Fig. 2). D'Agincourt,³ writing about our pyxis in 1823, evidently copied Gori's figures of this and the Jonah pyxis, also at Milan,⁴ stating them to be portions of one and the same pyxis. In 1876 Westwood⁵ describes the Vatican pyxis, then in the Museo Cristiano, as having formerly been in Milan, but the key-plate is now "engraved with a monogram of Christ, formed of the two letters XP conjoined." His statement that the monogram was engraved is clearly an error since on our photograph (Fig. 2) nail holes are clearly visible. Garrucci,⁶ in describing and depicting our pyxis, falls

*This article is one of the *Studies in the Art of the Museo Cristiano of the Vatican Library* (edited by C. R. Morey and E. Baldwin Smith), which are appearing in various periodicals.

1. Dimensions: height, 0.078 m.; diameter, 0.106 m. The only restoration is a small piece of the upper interior edge above the figure of the blind man. I owe this information to a courteous communication from Sig. Pio Franchi de'Cavalieri.

2. *Thesaurus veterum diptychorum consularium et ecclesiasticorum*, 1759, pp. 73, 74, 75, and pl. XXIV.

3. *Histoire de l'art par les monuments*, Paris, 1823, II, p. 44, and IV, pl. XII, 4.

4. This pyxis is in the Basilewsky Collection, formerly in Paris but now in Leningrad; it is reproduced by Gori, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. XXIV, and by Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, Prato, 1880, VI, 437/2. Cf. also Westwood, *Fidile Ivories*, London, 1876, p. 273, no. 769.

5. Westwood, *op. cit.*, pp. 273, 274, no. 770.

6. *Op. cit.*, VI, 438/3.

into Westwood's error as to the engraving of the monogram. Rohault de Fleury⁷ and Stuhlfauth⁸ follow Westwood and Garrucci and make mention of this monogram. Von Sybel,⁹ on the other hand, speaks in 1909 of the key-plate as blank. It is clear, therefore, that the monogram reproduced by Garrucci, whenever it may have been put on, had disappeared between the years 1896, the date of Stuhlfauth's book, and 1909.

The iconography throughout is characteristically Coptic or Alexandrian-Coptic. Christ appears as short-haired, beardless, and carrying a scepter cross, a type found only in monuments of Egyptian origin. Furthermore, the figure of Lazarus, wrapped like a mummy but with his head bare, stands in the entrance of a frontal tomb façade with a broken lintel. This type of tomb, which gives the effect of a mansard roof, is peculiar to Egypt and follows an ancient tradition of tomb building. It occurs, for instance, on "Campbell's Grave" in Gizeh, which dates in the time of Apries (588-569 B. C.).¹⁰ On a sixth century ivory comb from the excavations at Antinoe (Fig. 1) is a tomb, of which only the façade is represented with a similar broken and here denticulated lintel, while Lazarus has curly, wig-like hair, as on the Vatican pyxis. This feature of Lazarus appearing with his head bare may be associated most definitely with Egypt through the Fayum mummy portraits. It became customary during the late Roman occupation of the country to paint a portrait head with short, curly hair on the face of the mummy clothes, conforming to the ancient Egyptian tradition of depicting the uncovered head of the deceased at the top of the mummy case. The resemblance of this curly-haired type of Lazarus, even in the conventional designs of the mummy wrapping, to these mummies is striking.¹¹

The Healing of the Woman with the Issue of Blood is here combined with the Raising of Lazarus and not with the Raising of Jairus' Daughter as one would expect from the account in the Scriptures. This combination, moreover, is very common in the period, especially on sarcophagi of the fourth century.¹² In the Healing of the Man Born Blind,¹³ Christ, who carries a cross instead of a roll (a point of distinction from the Hellenistic type of the sarcophagi), touches the eyes of a single blind man of comparatively small stature, who carries a staff. This is again a type found only on monuments of Egyptian provenance.¹⁴

7. *La Messe*, V, 1887, p. 65, pls. CCCLXVI-CCCLXVII. The pyxis had then, he knows not at what epoch, been set upon a base and covered by a sort of roof or lid. From Pio Franchi de'Cavalieri I learn that this was done in the second half of the eighteenth century, at which time he believes the monogram was also added.

8. *Die altchristliche Elfenbeinplastik*, Leipzig, 1896, p. 118, note 1, pp. 119, 142, and 143.

9. *Christliche Antike*, Marburg, 1909, II, p. 252.

10. Cf. R. Delbrueck, *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium*, Strassburg, 1912, II, p. 83, fig. 50. The odd shape of the tomb may have also some relation to the use of mummies in burial since it vaguely recalls an Egyptian mummy case set upon end (cf. E. Baldwin Smith, *Early Christian Iconography*, Princeton, 1918, pp. 117-120, notes 43 and 44, and table VIII).

11. Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 120, note 44, who cites examples.

12. Among the sarcophagi reproduced by Garrucci, I found seventeen instances of this miracle combined with

the Raising of Lazarus and only two with the Raising of Jairus' Daughter (cf. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, III, 313/4, 314/6, 316/3, 379/2, 3, 4, and 380/2, 3, for characteristic examples). The pyxis at Pesaro (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, 339/1) illustrates the Jairus' Daughter type.

13. The Gospels tell of three and possibly four occasions when Christ gave sight to the blind. It is naturally difficult to tell which one of these events the artist had in mind, but, as the account of John (IX, 1-41) is the only one where Christ is said to have actually touched the eyes of the blind man, rubbing clay upon his eyes, this seems to be the version followed. This presumption is confirmed by a sarcophagus described by Bottari where two miracles of the healing of the blind are depicted. In one case Christ lays His hand on the head of a blind man who sits by the wayside and in the other He touches the eyes of a small blind man, evidently the man born blind who figures in John's account (cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 95 and note 6).

14. Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 94-98, and table VI.

The type of the Healing of the Paralytic is exceptional in the art of the period. In answer to the bidding of Christ, "Rise, take up thy bed and walk,"¹⁵ the paralytic is shown striding to the left, grasping the bed by its two front legs, with the mattress flung down before him. No figure of Christ is included in the scene, and the paralytic, who is represented in almost full-front view, but with his legs in profile, does not look back as is customary in the Alexandrian-Coptic and Palestinian-Coptic types.¹⁶

The box, or casket, beneath the blank key-plate is a further bit of evidence for the Egyptian provenance of the Vatican pyxis, for Mrs. Elderkin¹⁷ has recently shown that this form of casket, reminiscent of the ancient mastaba in shape, is Egyptian in origin and, in the Byzantine period, appears only in monuments of that provenance. In connection with the Healing of the Man Born Blind are two figures carrying rolls, with their right hands raised in a gesture of wonder. They are presumably the prophets Isaiah and David, who appear in conjunction with the same miracle in the Codex Sinopensis, an Asia Minor manuscript of the sixth century. There they hold open rolls containing their respective prophecies relating to the miracle.¹⁸ That these figures on our pyxis are meant to be prophets and not evangelists is further evinced by the fact that they hold rolls and not books, as more fitting to their prophetic character, and especially by the appearance of another similar figure, in conjunction with the Raising of Lazarus, who does hold a book. Now the miracle of Lazarus is related only in the Gospel of John¹⁹ so it is quite probable that the extra figure carrying a book in this scene is the evangelist. The attributes of the prophets and evangelists do not seem to have been carefully distinguished in this period, but there seems to be a differentiation in this instance.²⁰

15. John, V, 8.

16. Christ is omitted in the frescoes of the catacombs, but there the bed is usually carried upside down. This also is the only case I know of in which the mattress has been thrown down in front of the paralytic. For the usual Alexandrian-Coptic and Palestinian-Coptic types cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-106, and table VII.

17. *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXI, 1926, p. 157.

18. "Then the eyes of the blind shall be opened" (Isaiah, XXXV, 5) and "It is Thou Who hast formed me and placed Thine hand upon me" (Psalms, CXXXIX, 5, Septuagint). In the Codex Rossanensis we find these same prophets, Isaiah and David, occurring again in conjunction with the Healing of the Blind but here accompanied by Sirach; David appears twice. The prophecy of Isaiah is the same as in the Codex Sinopensis; the prophecies of David are quite different and one of them not particularly appropriate, while that of Sirach has no direct relation to the miracle whatsoever. Those from David read, "The Lord is my light and my salvation; whom shall I fear?" (Psalms, XXVII, 1) and, "The Lord raiseth up all those that be bowed down" (Psalms, CXLV, 14) and Sirach's, "He that loveth pureness of heart, all of them shall be received as blameless" (Proverbs, XXII, 11, Septuagint).

19. John, XI, 1-44.

20. The standing type of evangelist or prophet seems to be Egyptian in origin. Professor A. M. Friend, of Princeton University, has made a careful study of the

evangelist types (the first portion of which will appear in *Art Studies*, V, 1927) and finds that the standing type of evangelist in front view is Egyptian in contradistinction to the seated type in three-quarters or profile view, which seems to have originated in Asia Minor. Furthermore, Strzygowski states that the standing evangelist with a book seems to be Egyptian and cites five examples of that provenance (*Hellenistische und Koptische Kunst in Alexandria*, Vienna, 1902, pp. 35-41). I have verified this and have been unable to find any instances of a full-length standing figure of an evangelist or prophet carrying a book outside monuments of Egyptian provenance. In these they occur quite frequently and it is a common practice to interpolate figures of prophets or evangelists in the midst of the scene represented, as on the Vatican pyxis. Thus we find such figures (usually bearded but sometimes not, as on our pyxis), carrying books, in conjunction with the following scenes: the Raising of Lazarus, the Healing of the Blind Man, the Good Samaritan, the Women at the Tomb, the Washing of Feet, the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes, the Marriage at Cana, the Woman with Dropsy, and the Healing of the Demoniac. These scenes occur on some ten or twelve monuments all of which, from points of iconography and style, clearly belong to Egypt. As noted above, there but rarely seems to be any differentiation between the attributes of the prophets and evangelists; thus in the Cosmas Indicopleustes and the Alexandrian World Chronicle (cf. Bauer and Strzygowski, *Eine Alexandrinische Weltchronik in Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissen-*

The figure style also points to a Coptic or Alexandrian-Coptic provenance. The wig-like hair, either curly or cut straight round the forehead so as to form a bang; the treatment of the eyes, with the iris partly cut away, forming a prominent bulge on the lower part of the eyeball, and with the pupil rendered by a drill hole; and the schematic treatment of the drapery, which shows a marked dependence upon the incised line, are characteristic of many monuments of the sixth century generally attributed to Egypt. The use of cross-hatching on the mattress dropped by the paralytic is also Egyptian.²¹ Furthermore, the sketchy type of architectural background on our pyxis is reminiscent of Alexandrian "illusionism"²² and is common on monuments of that provenance.

On an ivory plaque from the Sancta Sanctorum²³ is depicted the Healing of the Man Born Blind (Fig. 8). Christ, short-haired and beardless, stands in three-quarters view to the left and touches with His right hand the eyes of the blind man, who is of comparatively small stature and leans upon a staff. Behind and to the right is a bearded figure, perhaps the prophet Isaiah,²⁴ who holds a book in his left hand and raises the right with the palm outward in the usual gesture. The group stands before an architectural structure which consists of a single flat arch resting upon simple pilasters; in each spandrel is an acanthus leaf.²⁵ Although the iconography of this scene is Hellenistic²⁶ rather than specifically Coptic or Alexandrian-Coptic, since Christ does not carry the usual scepter cross, the style is plainly Alexandrian. There is the same treatment of the hair and of the eyes as on the pyxis. The figures, however, are in higher relief and there is more plastic feeling; the drapery falls in quite natural folds, revealing the form beneath, with very little dependence upon

schaften, *phil. hist. Klasse*, LI, 1906, p. 149) they carry books in every instance. In a Syriac manuscript of the seventh or eighth century in the Bibliothèque Nationale, however, though the model used for the prophets is quite analogous to that employed in the Cosmas of the Vatican, the prophets hold the roll (cf. Omont, *Peintures de l'ancien testament dans un manuscrit syriaque du VII ou VIII siècle*, *Mon. Piot*, XVII, pp. 85 ff.). Wulff regards the miniatures of this manuscript as examples of the "hellenistische Richtung" in Syria (*Alchr. u. Byz. Kunst*, I, p. 292), and Omont supposes that they are copied from a Greek original; it is therefore dangerous to assume that their iconography is Syrian. It seems evident, in any case, that in Egypt it was customary to interpolate figures of prophets and evangelists (usually carrying books, though the former sometimes hold rolls, as on the Vatican pyxis) into the scenes; in Asia Minor and Syria these figures nearly always carry rolls (an exception is in the Codex Rossanensis where the busts of the four evangelists on the frontispiece of the Canon tables carry books) and are never interpolated into the scenes but merely appear in conjunction with them, as in the Codex Sinopensis and the Rossanensis.

21. The use of cross-hatching on Egyptian monuments is taken up in detail in my article *The Style of the Consular Diptychs*, which will appear in a later number of *The Art Bulletin*.

22. By "illusionism" is meant the attempt to render the illusion of life in real and unlimited space as exemplified by the sculptures of the Arch of Titus (cf. C. R. Morey, *The Sources of Mediaeval Style*, in *The Art Bulletin*, VII, 2, Dec., 1924).

23. Cf. Lauer, *Monuments Piot*, XV, pl. XIII, pp. 86, 87. Pio Franchi de'Cavalieri has kindly communicated the dimensions: height, 0.122 m.; width at top, 0.059 m., at bottom 0.058 m.

24. It is of course impossible to tell whether this figure is a prophet or evangelist, but if it is a prophet the probabilities are in favor of Isaiah rather than David, since his prophecy given above (note 18) is repeated in identical form in connection with this scene in the Codex Rossanensis and the Sinopensis. Figures with books or rolls occur eight times in the Miracle of the Blind Man, more frequently than in any other scene, and twice (on the Vatican and Pesaro pyxides) there are two of these figures present. Now the Healing of the Blind occurs in all four Gospels but the prediction of the miracle seems to have been ascribed to only two prophets, Isaiah and David (Sirach, in the Codex Rossanensis, was evidently included merely to increase the prophets to four, the habitual number in all the scenes of that manuscript). Thus it seems likely that this bearded figure on the plaque from the Sancta Sanctorum and the two with rolls on the Vatican pyxis are prophets and not evangelists.

25. Lauer (*op. cit.*, p. 87) states that this form of decoration appears on some of the consular diptychs and on one of the Coptic pyxides in the British Museum. His analogies, however, do not seem to me to be convincing.

26. Cf. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 98; a similar Hellenistic type in which Christ carries a roll and not a cross appears on two pyxides in the Cluny Museum (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI 438/4, 5).



FIG. 4—Paris, Louvre: *Massacre of the Innocents and Elisabeth Enclosed by the Mountain, on an Ivory Pyxis from La Voûte-Chilhac*



FIG. 5—New York, Metropolitan Museum: *Multiplication of the Loaves and Fishes, on an Ivory Pyxis*



FIG. 6—London, British Museum: *St. Menas Pyxis*



FIG. 7—Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum: *Detail of Leaf of Diptych of Anastasius. 517 A. D.*



FIG. 8—Rome, Vatican Library: *Healing of the Blind Man, on an Ivory Plaque from the Sancta Sanctorum*



FIG. 9—Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum:
*Healing of the Paralytic, on an Ivory
 Plaque in the Youghal Collection*



FIG. 10—Etschmiadzin, Monastic Library: *Ivory Book Cover*



FIG. 11—Paris, Cluny Museum:
*Leaf of Areobindus Diptych
 506 A. D.*

the incised line. The architectural background is in actual relief and not merely indicated. The Sancta Sanctorum plaque, therefore, illustrates an earlier and better style than that of the Vatican pyxis. It bears many points of similarity to the Pesaro pyxis already cited in note 12. The type of Christ is almost identical: in each case the hair is arranged with a fringe of curls round the forehead and ears, and the back hair is brushed straight back;²⁷ the treatment of the eyes, too, is quite similar. The prophet or evangelist is of the same bearded type and the book which he carries is represented in identical fashion, cross-hatching being used to render the texture of the binding. Moreover, the Pesaro pyxis is clearly Coptic or Alexandrian-Coptic in origin; Christ carries a scepter cross, and, in addition, the dentil is used under an arch, a misapplication of the classical motive which I have found to be characteristic of Egyptian practice.²⁸

Allied to the Vatican pyxis and the Sancta Sanctorum plaque in iconography and style is the following group of ivories: three pyxides in the Cluny museum,²⁹ the Youlgrave panels at Cambridge (Fig. 9), the ivory comb from Antinoë mentioned above (Fig. 1), the Pesaro pyxis, another in Bonn,³⁰ one in Vienna (Figdor Collection),³¹ the Murano book-cover,³² the Maximianus Chair, and the book-covers in the Bibliothèque Nationale and at Etschmiadzin (Fig. 10).³³ On the Youlgrave panels (Fig. 9), which are markedly close in style to our ivories, is found the same sketchy type of architectural background, which also appears in the pyxides in Pesaro, Bonn, and Vienna.³⁴ Furthermore, the evangelists represented on the lower part of each panel wear a type of Oriental sandal³⁵ like that worn by figures on the Vatican pyxis, on a Coptic diptych (one leaf formerly in the Spitzer Collection, now in Brussels, and the other in the treasury of the cathedral of Tongres),³⁶ and in the frescoes of Bawît.³⁷ In eleven out of the twelve ivories mentioned in this group Christ appears as short-haired, beardless, and carrying a scepter cross;³⁸ in four out of the six instances in which the Miracle of Lazarus is depicted he stands in the entrance of that peculiar type of tomb with a "mansard" roof, usually denticulated,

27. This treatment of the hair is also found on the Maximianus Chair, the Youlgrave panels in Cambridge (Fig. 9), the Bibliothèque Nationale book-covers, and those at Etschmiadzin (Fig. 10).

28. Cf. my article *The Style of the Consular Diptychs*, cited in note 21.

29. Cf. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, 438/4, 5 and 439/3. Von Sybel (*op. cit.*, II, p. 253) seems to have been in error in regarding the Cluny pyxis no. 1034 as distinct from that from St.-Maclou (Bar-sur-Aube), which is published by Du Sommerard, *Les arts au moyen-âge*, Paris, 1838, V, p. 110, and Album, Ser. V-VI, pl. XI, and again by Garrucci, 439/3. The latter pyxis, though reversed in the figure of Du Sommerard and Garrucci, is identical with no. 1034 of the Cluny (photo. Alinari no. 25345).

30. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, 439/2.

31. Strzygowski, in *Röm. Quart.*, 1898, p. 37, fig. 6, and *Koptische Kunst, Cat. of the Museum in Cairo*, Vienna, 1904, no. 7117, pl. XVII.

32. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford, 1911, p. 210, fig. 125.

33. Strzygowski, *Das Etschmiadzin-Evangeliar*, *Byz. Denkh.*, I, 1892, pl. I.

34. It also occurs on the Murano book-cover but only in one scene, the Healing of the Paralytic; here it is merely a faint reminiscence of the old "illusionistic" technique, which has practically vanished in this work, the composition of which is strictly two-dimensional.

35. Dalton, *Catalogue of Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, 1912, p. 84, nos. 32, 33, pl. IV.

36. Cf. Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, VI, pl. 437, and Molinier, *op. cit.*, p. 55. For further bibliography cf. Dalton, *Catalogue of Fitzwilliam Museum*, p. 86. These ivories are clearly Coptic in style; in addition to the Coptic prominent eyes and general figure style they have the dentil used under a low arch and the Egyptian misuse of the scallop shell, which here has a ball hinge (for further discussion of the Egyptian misuse of the scallop niche cf. my article *The Style of the Consular Diptychs*, cited above).

37. Notably in chapels III, VII, XII (cf. Clédât, *Mémoires de l'institut français d'archéologie orientale au Caire*, XII, 1904, pls. XXI, XXVII, and XXXV).

38. The one exception is a pyxis in the Cluny Museum (Garrucci, *op. cit.*, 438/5); on the Cluny pyxis no. 1033 (*ibid.*, 438/4) while Christ carries a roll instead of a cross in the Healing of the Blind Man, He does carry the cross in the Raising of Lazarus.

which we have seen to be Egyptian in origin. Finally, we find cross-hatching used on mattresses, rugs, books, and the like in six instances, while dentils under an arch appear on the Bibliothèque Nationale book-cover as well as on the Pesaro pyxis.³⁹

Closely related to this group in style is a larger group of ivories usually assigned to Egypt, which includes the Baptism plaque in the British Museum,⁴⁰ the aforementioned Coptic diptych of Tongres and the Spitzer collection, six pyxides at Werden, Rouen, Florence, Leningrad, Sitten, and Berlin,⁴¹ two in the Louvre from La Voûte-Chilhac (Fig. 4),⁴² and two in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 5),⁴³ the Adoration panel in the British Museum, and the corresponding panel in the Martin Le Roy collection, Paris,⁴⁴ the Saint Menas (Fig. 6) and Daniel pyxides in the British Museum,⁴⁵ and the Alexandrian-Coptic group of consular diptychs.⁴⁶ Of particular note is the pyxis from La Voûte-Chilhac on which is depicted the Massacre of the Innocents (Fig. 4). In conjunction with this scene is the representation of Elizabeth and the infant John the Baptist, saved by the mountain which opened up to receive them. It is based upon the Protevangelium of James, which reads,⁴⁷ "And Elizabeth, having heard that they were searching for John, took him and went into the hill-country, and kept looking where to conceal him. And there was no place of concealment. And Elizabeth, groaning with a loud voice, says: 'O mountain of God, receive mother and child.' (For Elizabeth was unable to climb up.)"⁴⁸ And immediately the mountain was cleft and received her." This scene is very rare in Early Christian art. In the sixth century it occurs elsewhere only in the frescoes of Bawit (Chapel XVII) and at Deir Abou-Hennis, near Antinoë.⁴⁹

39. Dentils are used as a border, another Egyptian practice, on the Bibliothèque Nationale and Murano book-covers, and on the pyxis in the Micheli Collection (Garrucci, 448/12). The Micheli pyxis is probably not Early Christian at all but Romanesque; it still retains Alexandrian-Coptic iconography however.

40. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 184, fig. 11; *Cat. of Ivory Carvings in the British Museum*, pl. V, 10.

41. Cf. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, 437/2, 4, 5, 438/1, 2; and Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, V, 1887, pl. 371. The Sitten pyxis is closely related to one in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, on which is represented the Holy Women at the Tomb (cf. Goldschmidt, in *Jb. für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1923, pl. 7; and S. Pöglayen-Neuwall in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, XII, 1919, pls. 34, 35).

42. Rohault de Fleury, *op. cit.*, V, 1887, p. 65, pls. 366-367.

43. The pyxis with the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes (Fig. 5) is quite close to the Vatican pyxis in style; besides the use of the sketchy type of architectural background we find the dentils used under a low arch. This pyxis (no. 17, 190.34) is probably identical with a sixth century pyxis from S. Pedro de la Rua at Estella, Spain (photo. Laurent, Madrid, no. 916), described by Smith (*op. cit.*, p. 133) as being Alexandrian-Coptic in style and a natural continuation of the type on the Maximianus Chair, where the Blessing of Elements is combined with the Feeding of the Multitude. Christ is here represented as seated under an arch and blessing the bread and fish offered by two disciples; He carries the usual Coptic

cross. The other pyxis in the Metropolitan Museum, with the Women at the Tomb (no. 17, 190.51), is more closely allied with the Murano book-cover group and the pyxides of Sitten and La Voûte-Chilhac (cf. note 41).

44. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 211, fig. 126; *Catalogue of Ivory Carvings*, pl. IX; and *East Christian Art*, pl. XXVI.

45. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 187, fig. 113; *Catalogue of Ivory Carvings*, pls. VII and VIII; and *East Christian Art*, pl. XXIV, 1. See also Pöglayen-Neuwall (*Münchener Jb. der bildenden Kunst*, XIII, 1923, p. 58, fig. 6), who compares it with the Areobindus and Clementinus diptychs.

46. Isolated in the article cited in note 21.

47. A. Walker, *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts and Revelations*, Edinburgh, 1890, p. 13.

48. The sentence in parentheses does not appear in Walker's translation but is in the Greek text.

49. Cf. Cabrol, *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, Paris, 1921, I, col. 2348; II, col. 241-3 and III, col. 2898, note g. This representation of Elizabeth being enclosed by the mountain occurs again in the most archaic of the frescoes of Cappadocia (late ninth or early tenth century) along with other scenes from the Protevangelium of James (cf. Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, Paris, 1925, pp. 79, 160, 188, and pls. 33/3, 41/2. It occurs also in Paris 510 (Omont, *Facsimilés des miniatures des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, pl. XXXII), which agrees in many other points with the Cappadocian frescoes. In the fourteenth century it occurs in Kahrieh-Djami; in the

It is to the consular diptychs that we must turn for criteria for dating the Vatican pyxis. In the Areobindus diptychs of 506 and the Anastasius diptychs of 517 A. D., especially in the scenes represented at the bottom of each leaf, we find many parallels of figure style. If we note the treatment of the hair and in particular that of the eyes, where the bulging projection below the drilled iris practically forms an earmark of the school, in the Anastasius diptychs of Berlin (Fig. 7) and the Bibliothèque Nationale,⁵⁰ the similarity is striking. From these similarities of style it seems evident that the Vatican pyxis was executed in the first quarter of the sixth century either in Egypt or by a craftsman schooled in an Alexandrian-Coptic atelier.⁵¹

Though the style and iconography of all the ivories mentioned in this article are closely related to one another and are of Egyptian provenance, it is yet possible to make a stylistic differentiation between those which, on account of their greater plasticity, ally themselves with the Maximianus Chair and the Areobindus, Clementinus, Anastasius, and Probus Magnus diptychs, and those which show a marked falling off of plastic form and a flatter and cruder technique. These latter would group themselves around the Murano book-cover; they probably reflect the influence of Upper Egypt upon the art of Alexandria. If we compare the enthroned Areobindus in the Cluny Museum (Fig. 11) with the enthroned Christ of the Etschmiadzin book-covers (Fig. 10), we see the degeneration of the style. In the latter, the artist, in his effort to represent every portion of the figure, has even depicted the top of the head of Christ. In my chronological table given below⁵² I have made a general division between the ivories of the early sixth century and those after 525 and arranged the individual members of each group in approximate chronological order. Thus the Vatican pyxis is close to the date of the Anastasius diptychs (517 A. D.), while the Sancta Sanctorum plaque belongs near the beginning of the century.

Theoskepastos of Trebizond, and finally in the lateral chapel of the Brontochion at Mistra (cf. G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile*, Paris, 1916, pp. 161 and 650). As we have no instance of this scene occurring in other than Egyptian monuments up to the ninth and tenth centuries, however, it seems clear that the iconography is Egyptian in origin.

50. Molinier, *Histoire générale des arts appliqués à l'industrie (Ivoires)*, Paris, 1896, p. 24, no. 17; or Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, Milan, 1901, I, p. 376, figs. 346, 347.

51. It is quite probable that there were many bands of traveling artisans from Alexandria and elsewhere who plied their trade in Rome, Constantinople, Jerusalem, and other cities of the Roman Empire. We hear, for instance, that the Patriarch of Alexandria, John the Almoner, sent from Egypt one thousand workmen,

masons, carpenters, and other artisans, to aid in the construction of the new buildings at the Holy Sepulchre, undertaken by Abbot Modestus after the sack of Jerusalem (A. D. 614) and completed in 626, ten years before the Arab conquest; cf. J. Breck (*Bull. of the Metr. Museum*, XIV, 1919, pp. 242-244), who thinks it quite possible in view of the relationships between Egypt and Palestine, that Coptic carvers were established in Jerusalem. Myrtilla Avery has shown (*The Art Bulletin*, VIII, 4, June, 1925) good reason for assuming the presence of a group of Alexandrian painters in Rome in the seventh century, who according to her were the authors of the finer frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua.

52. In the following table G. refers to Garrucci, *op. cit.*, VI, and D. to Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

500-506 A. D.

Chair of Maximianus (c. 500 A. D.)
St. Menas and Daniel pyxides (Fig. 6)
Adoration pyxis in the Bargello (G. 437/5)
SANCTA SANCTORUM PLAQUE (Fig. 8)
Pesaro pyxis (G. 339/1)

506-525 A. D.

Areobindus diptych (506 A. D.: Fig. 11)
Youlgrave panels (Fig. 9)
Loaves and Fishes pyxis in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig. 5)
Bibliothèque Nationale book-cover (D. fig. 124)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE—*Concluded*

Anastasius diptychs (517 A. D.: Fig. 7)
 Rouen pyxis (G. 438/2)
 Cluny pyxis no. 1034 (G. 439/3)
 Cluny pyxis (G. 438/5)
 Bonn pyxis (G. 439/2)
 VATICAN PYXIS (Figs. 2 and 3)
 Jonah pyxis (G. 437/2)
 Werden pyxis (G. 438/1)
 Figdor pyxis (Strzygowski, in *Röm. Quart.*, 1898, p. 37, fig. 6)
 Etschmiadzin book-cover (Fig. 10)
 British Museum Baptism plaque (D. fig. 111)
 British Museum Adoration panel and one in Martin Le Roy collection (D. fig. 126)
 [Lyons Baptism plaque (Goldschmidt, in *Jb. für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1923, pl. 6, fig. 8). This panel looks suspiciously like a late copy or a forgery.]
 [Plaque with Christ in Glory in the Metropolitan Museum (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, pl. 6, fig. 6). This panel is quite surely a Carolingian copy of an antique ivory such as the Bibliothèque Nationale book-cover.]

525 A. D.

(More influence of Upper Egypt)

Murano book-cover (D. fig. 125)
 Minden pyxis in Berlin (G. 437/4)
 Sitten pyxis (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, pl. 7, figs. 3 and 4; Poglayen-Neuwall, in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, XII, 1919, pl. 35, figs. 3-6)
 Two Louvre pyxides from La Voûte-Chilhac (Fig. 4)
 Maries at the Tomb pyxis in the Metropolitan Museum (Goldschmidt, *op. cit.*, pl. 7, figs. 1 and 2; Poglayen-Neuwall, *op. cit.*, pl. 34)
 Cluny pyxis no. 1033 (G. 438/4)
 Comb from Antinoë (Fig. 1)

Late Copies

Pyxis in the Micheli Collection, Paris (G., 448/8-12)
 Pyxis from Sens (G. 439/4)
 Bodleian book-cover (Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 105; Westwood, *op. cit.*, pl. VI)



FIG. 1—*Santa Barbara, Calif., Collection of Mr. G. E. Steedman: Ceiling Painting from Teruel*



FIG. 2



FIG. 3



FIG. 4

Santa Barbara, Calif., Collection of Mr. G. E. Steedman: Panels of Ceiling Painting from Teruel

GOTHIC PAINTED CEILINGS FROM TERUEL

BY MILDRED STAPLEY BYNE¹

SOUTHERN Aragon as it existed prior to the union of the Catalan-Aragonese realm with Castile was a thoroughly Mudejar region. Including, as it did, the former Moorish kingdom of Valencia conquered by Don Jaime in 1238, it retained an immense Moorish, and to lesser extent Jewish, artisan population. This element was so frankly recognized as a valuable asset in the industrial life of Aragon that in Saragossa, the capital, the Mudejares were permitted to form their own guilds and to carry their own banners in civic processions. In the important towns to the south of Saragossa—Calatayud, Daroca, and Teruel—their status was practically the same.

At the same time, this southern Aragonese region was also the recipient of Valencian influences. The guilds were a potent factor in the civic life of Valencia, too, and numbered many Christians as well as Moors and Jews. If Saragossa was a center of Mudejar carpentry, Valencia was a center of Christian painted decoration. Long before the Borgias (Borjas) introduced the Italian Renaissance into their native *patria*, painting was an established though reminiscent art. The Academia de San Carlos contains a retable by Nicolas Palau, painted between 1400 and 1409, a fact to be recalled in any consideration of the date of the ceiling of Teruel Cathedral, from which the paintings here illustrated appear to be derived.

Until recent spoliation began, these old cities were eloquent of this fusion of East and West. Architecture, pottery, weavings, all told that the bulk of the producers had been Moors. Included in the Mudejar architectural legacy was an abundance of interesting carpentry in the form of doors, window shutters (these true to their name, since the openings went unglazed), eaves, and ceilings. These last were often decorated in polychrome, not merely with the floral and geometric *motifs* so characteristic of the art of Islam but also with Christian compositions of figures and animals, such as Gothic Europe was then demanding in its tapestries, sculptures, and paintings.

Of all the Mudejar towns Teruel appears to have been the principal center of Gothic figure painting as applied to ceiling decoration. The most important example is still intact above the vaulted ceiling of the cathedral and is the subject of a monograph in course of preparation. Accident rather than precaution has preserved it, since the canons of the seventeenth century erected a light stone vault some two meters below the decorated timber ceiling. But since I first visited Teruel in 1910 several smaller and highly interesting polychrome ceilings have been removed. That from "the Jew's house," sometimes mentioned as from *La Juderia* (The Ghetto), passed into the hands of a Madrid dealer, whose only recollection is that it was bought by *un extranjero*. Two other ceilings have emigrated

1. I wish to express my thanks to Mr. G. E. Steedman, of Santa Barbara, California, for permission to reproduce some of the photographs of his painted ceiling. The illus-

trations of the ceiling now in the Taylor collection are reproduced by courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library, of New York City.

to California: one to the collection of Mr. William Randolph Hearst, and the second to the home of Mr. George E. Steedman, at Santa Barbara (Figs. 1-7). A fourth ceiling, composed of seventy-eight panels, which for several years hung in the entrance hall of the Count of Almenas at Madrid, is now in the collection of Mr. Myron C. Taylor, in New York City (Figs. 8-17).

Though far from complete our illustrations justify the claim that the southern Aragonese region produced a definite school of panel painting; further, that the panels are of sufficient artistic merit to repay study. That they should have been neglected by Spaniards and foreigners alike until only the cathedral ceiling can be studied *in situ* (and under great difficulty, at that) is most regrettable.

Before considering the panels as paintings, it might not be amiss to examine the possible derivation of the curious array of *motifs* they present. The scenes from daily life (Figs. 10, 11)² reflect the newly awakened humanism of the age, which saw something worth recording in the simple tasks of the simple people; humorous scenes (Fig. 12) show us what the popular tales were like; the grotesques (Figs. 6, 8, 9, 15) suggest that the half human mythological beings of the pagans had assumed kinship with the fairies and witches of mediaeval legend. The knight solemnly clasping his sword (Fig. 14) might be either an Arthurian hero or some Catalan counterpart who went in search of the Holy Grail; the somewhat disconcerting nudes (Figs. 16, 17), so rare in early Gothic art, might easily be disposed of by naming the female Eve, but the seductive figure with no Adam as companion suggests that the Lady Godiva tale might not have been unknown in the kingdom of Aragon. Among the numerous dispersed Teruel panels there may even be a Peeping Tom.

Most of these subjects are slight variations from those that make up the vast repertory of the Teruel Cathedral ceiling. An easily recognized instance is the Franciscan monk (Fig. 9). Don Jaime I, the Conqueror, invited the Franciscans to his realms and this fact was recorded by a painting of the saint of Assisi offering to the sovereign the Book of Rules of his Order. Henceforth the monk, but not the royal effigy, was repeated on many a Teruel ceiling; but, as a rule, religious and Biblical personages were less favored than the jongleurs and other characters of the mediaeval romances.

The cultivated and trilingual society of the Aragonese kingdom was familiar with the *chansons de geste* and the story of Arthur and of Tristram, perhaps too familiar, for a certain moralist of the court of King Martin the Humane (1396-1410) advised that no frivolous fables like those of Arthur and Tristram should be read at court, but rather devout books expounding the truths of Holy Writ. To quote from William Entwistle's *Arthurian Legend in the Spanish Peninsula*, "Catalonia, by virtue of her linguistic affinities with Provence and Languedoc preceded the rest of the Peninsula in mere acquaintance with the *matière de Bretagne*."

However, the precedence of the Kingdom of Aragon over Castile in familiarity with the northern romances would not in itself establish precedence in representing northern subjects on Aragonese ceiling panels. Although Castile was relatively backward in

2. Two-handed fireproof *cacharros* of the sort represented in Fig. 10, pale green, with darker decoration, are still made in Teruel; similar long wooden ladles are carved

by the shepherds. The woman in Fig. 11 is carrying typical Teruel water jugs.

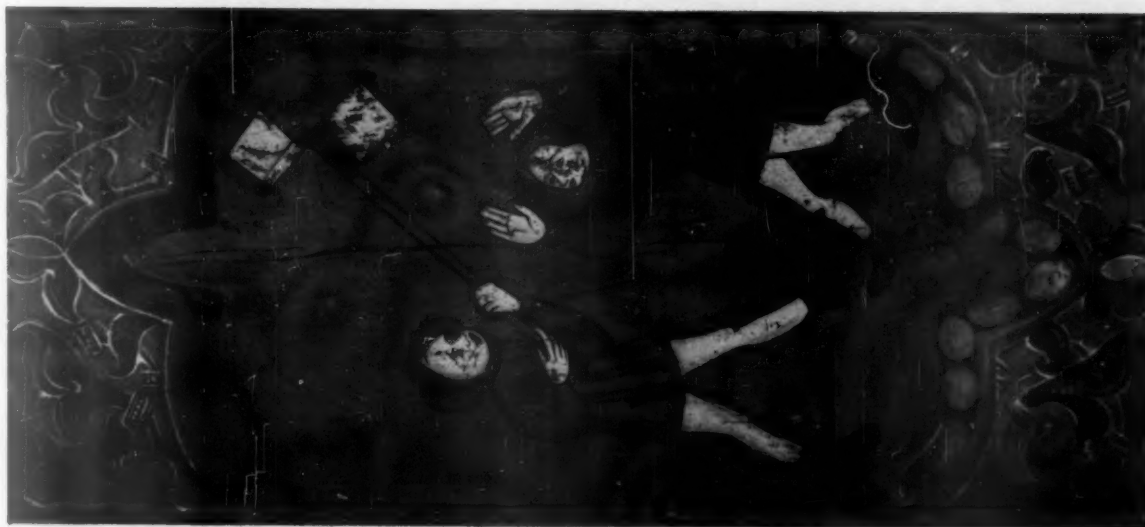


FIG. 5



FIG. 6

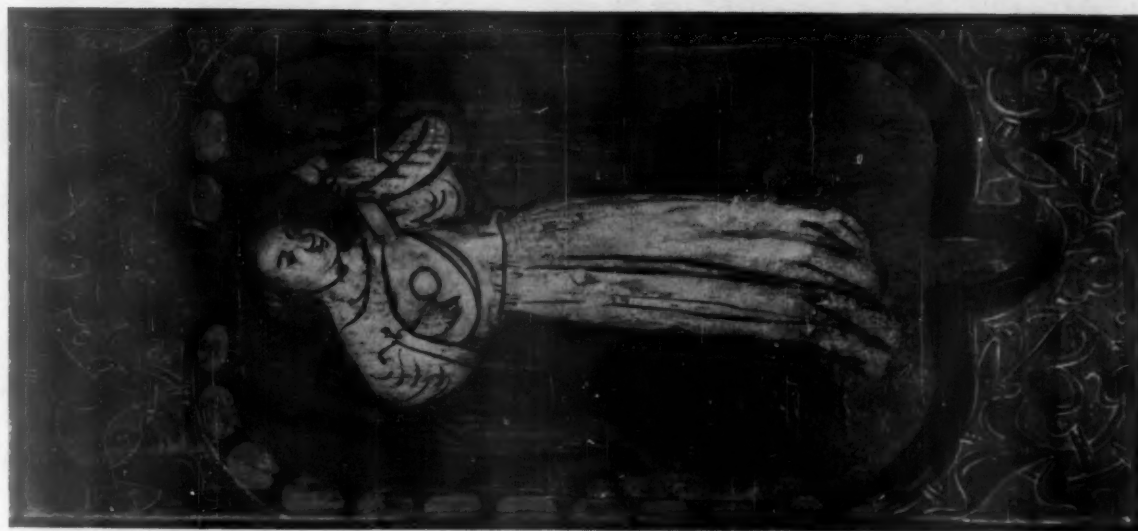


FIG. 7

Santa Barbara, Calif., Collection of Mr. G. E. Stedman: Panels of Ceiling Painting from Teruel

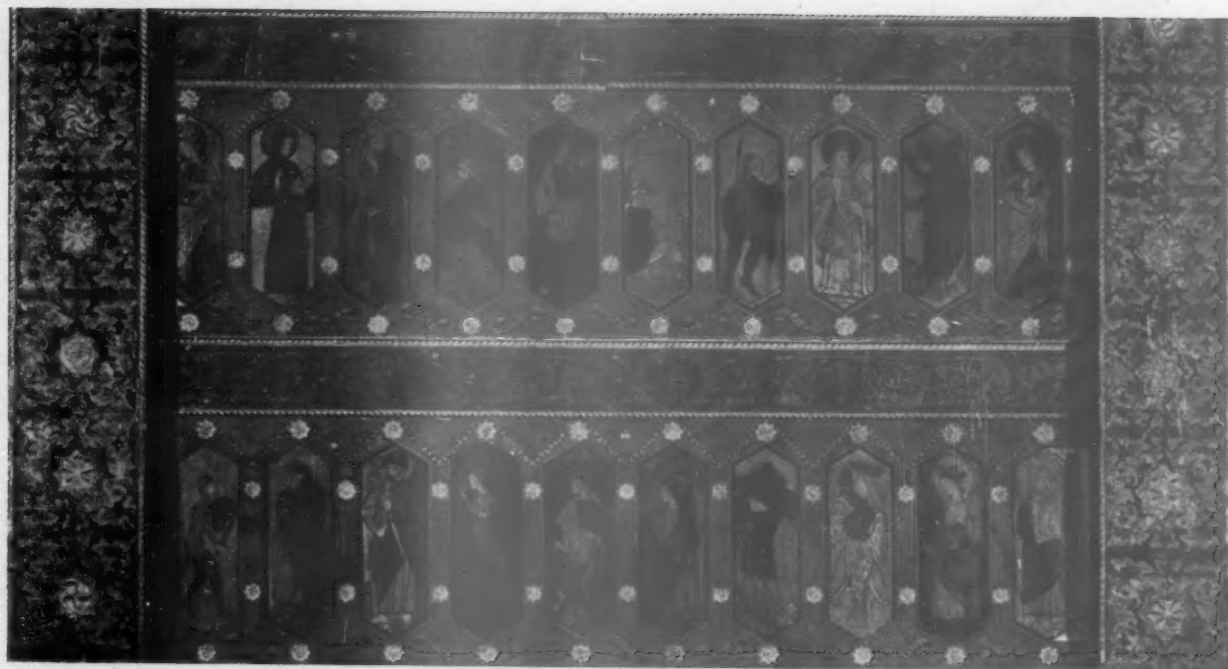


FIG. 8—New York, Collection of Mr. Myron C. Taylor: Details of Ceiling Painting from Teruel



FIG. 9—New York, Collection of Mr. Myron C. Taylor: Details of Ceiling Painting from Teruel



FIG. 10



FIG. 11



FIG. 12



FIG. 13

New York, Collection of Mr. Myron C. Taylor: Panels of Ceiling Painting from Teruel

civilization, this region was nevertheless subject to northern influences, due in large measure to the Santiago pilgrimage. The priority must then be attributed to the greater progress made by the Mediterranean kingdom in the arts, and particularly in the art of painting. The Teruel cathedral ceiling, which probably dates from the period when the church of S. Maria was elevated to the rank of Colegiata, proves that already in the first half of the fourteenth century painting was an established mode of decoration, and that the artist was not restricted to religious themes. The ceiling presents an amazing variety of subjects. Directly above the high altar there are paintings, as one might expect, of religious scenes from the life of Christ and the Virgin. But the great expanse above the nave contains hundreds of small panels which form a great cycle of civic scenes, covering a period from the foundation of the church to the marriage of the Infante Don Alfonso of Aragon with the sister of Don Juan II of Castile. On the small backgrounds, that are separated by rows of eight-pointed stars and framed by foliate patterns, there are kings, queens, saints, bishops, monks, musicians, warriors, and scenes of the hunt and tournament. The corners of each panel are embellished with flora and fauna, *fleur de lys*, tigers, lions, birds, dragons, chaemeras, heraldic devices, and escutcheons of bishops and lords, among them the dragon of Don Fernando of Antequera.³ In Castile, on the other hand, the oldest important example of the story-telling type is a century later in date. It covers the cloister of the monastery of S. Domingo de Silos, and the figure painting is not found on the ceiling panels but on the frieze boards.

As to the technique of the Teruel ceiling painters, the earliest followed the system of the *imagineros*, or image painters, first applying canvas to the wood, preparing the surface with size and gesso, rubbing this down smooth, and then decorating with tempera. The whole vast cathedral covering was executed in this manner. In later examples, like those illustrated, the canvas wrapping was omitted; also oil was sometimes used instead of the tempera process. Don José Ràfols (in whose little manual *Techumbres y artesonados* several important Aragonese ceilings augment the list of Spanish examples published some ten years ago by the Hispanic Society of America) tells us that the exported covering of "the Jew's House" was richly polychromed in tempera over a ground laid with gold, and adds that the house once served as the Alcazar Real (apparently after being confiscated on the expulsion of the Jews in 1492).⁴ At any rate, this opulence was not general, for the other ceilings, including that of the cathedral, show gold only in certain *motifs*, like rosettes, stars, and the diadems of the monarchs.

In the panels illustrated the ground is sometimes a rich burnt sienna, sometimes a raw umber, laid over a white preparation of gesso which lends transparency to the superposed pigments. The figures are in reds, greens, and yellows, flat and unmodeled, outlined with black, and emphasized by black beady eyes, the outlines recalling the manganese line around the patterns on the contemporaneous Teruel and Paterna pottery. If the execution is broad, even coarse, one must keep in mind that the work was meant to be seen at a great distance, and that even at close range this crudity is offset by the vigorous drawing.

3. Vicente Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la arquitectura cristiana española en la edad media*, Madrid, 1909, II, p. 598, fig. 208; Mariano del Pano, *La techumbre de la catedral de Teruel*, in *Revista de Aragón*, Saragossa, 1904.

4. For a reproduction from the ceiling of the *Judería* of Teruel see José F. Ràfols, *Techumbres y artesonados españoles*, Barcelona, 1926 (Colección Labor), fig. 9.

Many details are introduced which prove a close observation on the part of the artist, especially in the matter of costume, but the decorative instinct was fortunately too strong to permit his wandering off into trivialities.

Around the figure panel it was usual to paint a red or an ochre vine *motif* on a black ground, while the beveled edge within this was enlivened by white or red dots on black (Figs. 1-7). The same vine pattern is used with hardly a change of line in both Castile and Aragon, whereas the figures present easily recognized differences.

The wood used for the decorated ceilings was a superior pine, said to have once been abundant in the Pyrenean foothills of northern Catalonia. The structure is simplicity itself—visible beams with the panels laid between; the beams might be flat or laid to form a pitch, according to what was overhead, a floor or a roof. In some cases but one set of beams was used, in others a light secondary set rested across the master members. The framing up depended upon the size of the panel. For the painted board twelve by about thirty inches appears to have been considered a practical size. For it a frame was made out of a piece some three and a half feet long in which an opening was cut, either pointed or lobed at top and bottom, and beveled at the edge. This augmented the unit of the fill, permitting to the beams an average spacing of some fifteen inches, except in rare cases where it is the ends and not the sides of the panel that rest on them. This, however, is more proper to Catalonia where the carpenters were less influenced by the Mudejar tradition, and employed huge master timbers traversed by lighter secondary members. In Teruel the construction was lighter, one set of beams and these close-spaced as described, the end-to-end separation of the panels being accomplished by a painted strip with molded edges, as in Mr. Steedman's ceiling (Fig. 1). In the Almenas ceiling, now in the Taylor collection (Figs. 8, 9), only a twisted rope molding heavily gilded, is used. In spite of the considerable number of subjects depicted in close proximity on a Teruel ceiling, the uniformity of scale and the broad treatment tie the panels together most satisfactorily.



FIG. 14



FIG. 15

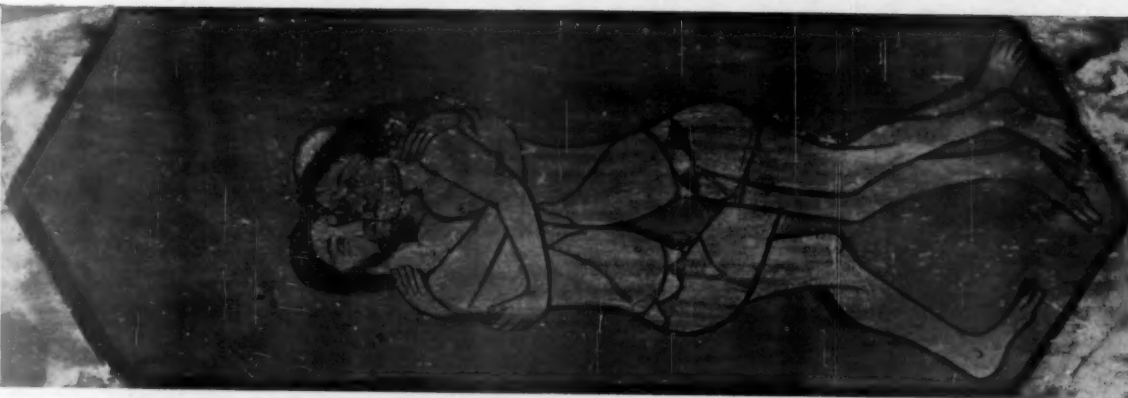


FIG. 16



FIG. 17

New York, Collection of Mr. Myron C. Taylor: Panels of Ceiling Painting from Teruel



FIG. 1—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: The Ficoroni Medallion*



FIG. 2—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Gilded Glass Medallion*



FIG. 3—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Mummy Mask (II–III Cent.)*



FIG. 4—*Brescia, Museo Cristiano: Gilded Glass Medallion*



FIG. 5—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Forgery (XVIII Cent.?)*



FIG. 6—*New York, Metropolitan Museum: Forgery (XVIII Cent.?)*

THE FICORONI MEDALLION AND SOME OTHER GILDED GLASSES IN THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART

BY JOSEPH BRECK

THE gilded glass medallion (Fig. 4) with portraits of two women and a youth, inscribed BOTNNEPI KEPAMI, that ornaments a gemmed cross in the Museo Civico Cristiano at Brescia, has been generally accepted as authentic by modern scholars, despite the judgment of Garrucci,¹ who considered it a forgery.² Nevertheless, there has been no agreement as to the precise date and place of origin; the identification of the portraits has not been determined; and the puzzling inscription has continued to bedevil archaeologists. Recently, however, M. de Mély has made a valuable contribution to the solution of these problems.³

The question of identity still remains unsettled, although M. de Mély has established with finality that the medallion does not represent Galla Placidia and her children, an identification first proposed in the eighteenth century and repeated by some later writers. M. de Mély believes that the medallion is not Roman but Alexandrian in origin, and probably of the third century of our era. He bases this opinion not only on the similarity in style which associates the medallion with the encaustic portrait paintings found in the Fayum tombs, but also upon more definite evidence in favor of an Egyptian origin afforded by the inscription, concerning which he consulted the well-known Coptic scholar, W. E. Crum.

According to Mr. Crum, several word terminations in the Greek dialect of Egypt take the form of iota, as in the inscription of the medallion. In fact, the word KEPAMI is the form one would expect in Egypt for KEPAMETΣ; and is the ordinary word, even in Coptic, for "potter." The word BOTNNEPI Dr. Crum did not recognize. The Brescia medallion was seen by Zaccarias around 1725 and noted in his *Iter per Italiam* (1762). It is mentioned, according to M. de Mély, in a seventeenth century inventory. At this time, we may safely assume, the peculiarities of Graeco-Egyptian word terminations were unknown to forgers! The inscription does not in itself prove the authenticity of the Brescia medallion, but it is certainly not a ground for suspicion, as Garrucci believed.

Forgeries of Early Christian gilded glass were made in Italy in the eighteenth century as we know from Caylus,⁴ who wrote: "*Ce moyen (the process of making gilt glass) a été retrouvé à Rome, il y a très-peu d'années; j'en ai jugé par quelques morceaux très-bien*

1. R. Garrucci, *Vetri ornati di figure in oro*, 1858, pl. XL, 7; p. 83.

2. Vopel also classifies it as spurious: *Die Altchristlichen Goldgläser*, 1899, no. 507.

3. F. de Mély, *Le medallion de la croix du musée chrétien de Brescia*, in *Arethuse*, 1926 (Jan.), no. 10, pp. 1-9.

4. *Recueil d'antiquités*, 1759, III, p. 195.

traités: on s'en est servi pour tromper les Etrangers; mais celui qui possédoit ce petit secret est mort sans le publier." I suspect these eighteenth century forgeries were not unlike two medallions, obviously spurious, now in the reserves of the Metropolitan Museum. Both pieces, once in the Guidi Collection at Faenza,⁵ are executed in the same technique: the drawing is scratched with a fine point on gold leaf applied to the lower surface of a thin piece of wavy, greenish glass. In their present mounts the medallions are backed with black cardboard to bring out the design. The glass⁶ reproduced in Fig. 5 is too patently wrong to require comment. The other⁷ bears some resemblance to Early Christian originals, but inaccuracies of style and feeble execution betray the forger (Fig. 6).

Returning to the Brescia medallion, it was not the inscription alone that aroused Garrucci's doubts; the costumes, especially the mantle knotted over the breast of the middle figure, also disturbed him—and quite rightly, if a Roman origin were claimed for the medallion. But in Egypt, as M. de Mély points out, the mantle would more probably have been knotted than fastened by a fibula. In support of his opinion, I may call attention to the representation of the goddess Gea on a tapestry-woven Coptic medallion of the third century, made for a tunic. On this piece,⁸ now in the Hermitage Museum, may be noted a mantle knotted over the breast as in the Brescia medallion. Thus another of Garrucci's reasons for doubting the authenticity of the Brescia medallion may be disregarded.

The date of the Brescia medallion, in M. de Mély's opinion, is the third century of the vulgar era. A more precise dating seems possible. Judging from the style of hair dressing, Hayford Peirce⁹ plausibly assigns the medallion to the reign of Alexander Severus (222–234). Mr. Peirce notes that the coiffure with convergent undulations—a variant of the familiar "mellon" type—does not occur in Roman portraiture, but is found on some of the plaster mummy masks of the second or third century from Egypt, such, for example, as a mask in the Musée Guimet illustrated (no. 24) in the museum's publication *Les portraits d'Antinoë*. This fashion of dressing the hair appears to have been peculiar to Egypt, and tends to confirm M. de Mély's belief that the Brescia glass was made in Egypt. A plaster mummy mask in the Metropolitan Museum of Art had suggested the same train of thought to me before I read Mr. Peirce's article; the mask (Fig. 3) comes from Upper Egypt and is a work of the late second or first half of the third century.

That gilded glass was made in Alexandria in the third century is fairly certain.¹⁰ This is the probable origin and date, according to Dalton, of the glass bowls with enclosed gilded decoration from Canosa, now in the British Museum; and other evidence that the art was practiced in Egypt is not lacking. Indeed, it would seem probable that the process originated, or at least was brought to highest perfection, in Alexandria.

I have summarized M. de Mély's article at some length, venturing upon a few comments of my own, because the new light thrown upon the Brescia gilded glass makes it desirable

5. Sale catalogue, 1902, p. 71, nos. 563, 563 bis.

6. Acc. no. 17.190.107. Diameter, $2\frac{1}{8}$ in. Thickness of glass, $\frac{1}{8}$ in.

7. Acc. no. 17.190.108. Diameter, $3\frac{1}{8}$ in. Thickness of glass, $\frac{1}{8}$ in.

8. Reproduced and described by M. Dimand, *Die Ornamentik der Aegyptischen Wollwirkereien*, 1924, fig. 47.

9. *Le verre peint de Brescia*, in *Arethuse*, 1927 (Jan.), no. 14, pp. 1–3.

10. O. M. Dalton, *The Gilded Glass of the Catacombs*, in *The Archaeological Journal*, 1901, LVIII, p. 247; O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, 1911, p. 613; A. J. Butler, *Islamic Pottery*, 1926, pp. 67–9.

to reconsider other pieces of similar style which have also been called forgeries and are generally accepted as such to-day.

This, for example, has been the fate of the medallion (Fig. 1) with portraits of a mother and a young boy, once owned by Ficoroni, who reproduced it in 1732 in his work on the Bulla.¹¹ Subsequently the medallion was in the collections of Dr. Conyers Middleton, Horace Walpole,¹² C. Wentworth Dilke, and J. Pierpont Morgan. It was given with the Morgan Collection to the Metropolitan Museum in 1917.

The medallion¹³ measures $1\frac{7}{8}$ in. in diameter on top. The rim is beveled, making the lower diameter $1\frac{3}{4}$ in.; the medallion was evidently intended to be mounted in some form, presumably as a pendant. It is composed of two pieces of clear glass annealed together, the upper serving as a protection to the gold foil applied to the lower disk and thus enclosed between two layers of glass. The upper disk is approximately $\frac{1}{16}$ in. in thickness, slightly rounded at the edge, and colorless. The lower disk, $\frac{1}{8}$ in. in thickness, is dark blue in color, appearing black when the medallion is backed with some opaque substance. In the execution of the portraits a needle-like point has been used to remove the gold leaf in dots and fine lines, showing the colored glass beneath. Parts of the child's costume appear to be silvered; this effect has been secured by brushing some whitish pigment over the gold after the drawing was completed. The top surface of the medallion has suffered slight abrasions, and is rather deeply pitted in one place.

Garrucci¹⁴ describes the Ficoroni glass as a forgery. In his opinion the medallion may have been made at the time when Ficoroni was writing, or preparing to write, his work on the Bulla, in which he published the medallion in good faith. Garrucci classes with the Ficoroni piece as forgeries two other gilded glasses on which a boy is represented wearing a bulla: one, inscribed M. COCCEIVS ONESIMVS,¹⁵ in the Bologna Museum; the other, inscribed M. CECILIVS,¹⁶ in the British Museum. On Garrucci's authority, Vopel includes the Ficoroni medallion in his group of mediaeval and modern glass.¹⁷ Unless Vopel had actually seen the Ficoroni glass, it would have been impossible for him to arrive at any independent opinion, as the engravings published by Ficoroni and Garrucci are wholly inadequate for purposes of study. This is the first time, I believe, that a photograph of the medallion has been published.

The reproductions here given (Figs. 4 and 1) of the Brescia and Ficoroni medallions permit the reader to recognize that in technique and style these two gilded glasses are clearly related. If the Brescia medallion is genuine—and I agree with de Mély that it is in all probability Alexandrian and of the third century—the same origin and date may be claimed for the Ficoroni medallion. It is probably a little later than the Brescia glass; the type of coiffure would indicate a date in the second half of the third century or in the first years of the fourth century.¹⁸ In this period there was a fashion of dressing the hair

11. Ficoroni, *La bulla d'oro*, 1732, p. 11. The medallion is said to have been obtained from the ruins of Tivoli. Ficoroni assigned it to the age of Alexander Severus.

12. *Catalogue of the Classic Contents of Strawberry Hill Collected by Horace Walpole*, 1842, p. 155. Fifteenth day's Sale. No. 70. "A curious Roman Bulla, of gold (sic), very rare, bought at Rome of Ficoroni (sic), who wrote his Book of La Bella (sic) D'Oro from this singular relic."

13. Acc. no. 17.190.109.

14. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, pl. XL, no. 9, p. 83.

15. Vopel, *op. cit.*, no. 512.

16. Vopel, *op. cit.*, no. 509.

17. Vopel, *op. cit.*, no. 528.

18. For references consult *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, 1912, VII, 2144.

like that shown on the Ficoroni medallion. Broad braids of hair were drawn up from the neck and brought forward so as to cover the top of the head. This arrangement of the hair may be seen in a gilded glass¹⁹ in the Vatican, but as it is classed by Garrucci and Vopel as spurious, it cannot, for the present at least, be offered in evidence.²⁰ There are, however, in the Vatican collection representations of this type of coiffure on two gilded glasses²¹ of which the authenticity has never been questioned. One is a bottom of a bowl or dish with portraits of a man and a woman, inscribed VINCENTI VIVAS CUM S. . . . MIA; the other is a female portrait bust inscribed SALVTI PIE ZESES CVM DONATA. Vopel describes these glasses as of the beginning of the fourth century.

The Metropolitan Museum has recently acquired a second medallion²² of the Ficoroni type (Fig. 2), now published for the first time. The lower disk, upon which the portrait bust of a young man is drawn with exquisite delicacy, is of the same deep sapphire blue; the gold is protected by a thin disk of colorless glass. The thickness of the lower piece is $\frac{3}{16}$ in.; of the upper $\frac{1}{16}$ in. The rim is beveled so that the lower diameter of the medallion is $\frac{3}{16}$ in. less than the upper diameter, which is $1\frac{5}{8}$ in. The upper surface of the medallion shows abrasions, and is chipped in two places near the edge. The rim and some adjoining parts of the upper disk are iridescent; there is also some iridescence on the lower disk. Surrounding the bust of the young man, which is drawn with even greater delicacy than the Ficoroni group, is the inscription ΓΕΝΝΑΔΙ. ΧΡΩΜΑΤΙ. ΙΙΑΜΜΟΤCΙ. Here again, as in the inscription on the Brescia medallion, we have the word termination in iota. This peculiarity, as already noted, suggests an Egyptian origin. Like the Brescia and the Ficoroni gilded glasses, this medallion is, I believe, Alexandrian work of the third century.

19. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, pl. XL, no. 3, p. 83. Vopel, *op. cit.*, no. 535.

20. Grüneisen, on the other hand, accepts the glass as genuine work of the fourth century. See *Le portrait*.

Traditions hellénistiques et influences orientales, 1911, p. 76, fig. 87.

21. Garrucci, *op. cit.*, pl. XXVI, no. 8, p. 54; and pl. XXVIII, no. 1, p. 57. Vopel, *op. cit.*, nos. 96 and 122.

22. Acc. no. 26.258.

REVIEWS

ART EPOCHS AND THEIR LEADERS. By Oscar Hagen. xxi, 322 pp.; illustrations. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927. \$3.00.

In his preface Mr. Hagen says, "What I wished to point out, as concisely as possible, is the genesis of the painting of our day, which often seems so full of contradictions, the roads it has followed through the various epochs from 1400 A. D. down to the beginning of the twentieth century, why it developed thus and not otherwise, and what the great leading personalities have meant for the art of their own time as well as for that of the future." This is an ambitious program and one to which the author has not strictly adhered. Perhaps he was unable to do so because of self-imposed restrictions. But, however that may be, he has written a readable and thoroughly interesting book, which includes several new ideas. Although his readers may not always agree with these, they are certain to find them stimulating.

A brief preface explains the author's purpose and sets forth clearly and concisely the reasons for his choice of method and arrangement. The book divides naturally into six chapters, which deal with the fifteenth century in Italy, the sixteenth century in Italy, the sixteenth century in the north, the Baroque, the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and the culmination of modern painting in the second half of the nineteenth century. Chapters one and two are the most satisfactory, chapter five the least successful, and chapter four, "Rembrandt," the most controversial.

The first chapter deals with the difficult problem of the fifteenth century clearly and simply, forming an excellent introduction to what follows. In chapter two Mr. Hagen takes Michelangelo as the supreme example of the Latin point of view, which makes man the measure of all things, while in the next chapter, using Dürer as the typical figure, he opposes to this point of view that of the Gothic North, where man is relatively unimportant. The discussion and analysis of the German genius is distinctly interesting, but the latter part of the chapter impresses me as an elaborate, though cleverly disguised, attempt to read into German art a greatness which is certainly debatable.

When he comes to the seventeenth century Mr. Hagen attempts the impossible by seeking a single figure to represent all sides of that many-sided age. He extends the meaning of the word *Baroque* beyond its normal connotation to include, not only the Catholic civilization of the south, but also the Protestant civilization of the north—of Germany, Holland, and England. As the one unifying element among these admitted contrasts he finds a "simple, uncomplicated realism." In Rembrandt he finds (p. 187) "that one among the masters of this century in whose art the spiritual content of the Baroque period reveals itself as most concentrated and unadulterated; he is the only one . . . whose art does not merely stress

one phase of the many-sided Baroque, but spans all the heights and depths, all the contrasts and contradictions of this civilization. All the complex radiations of the spiritual nature of his time converge in his art as in a concave mirror." Granting the author's definition of the Baroque, the choice of Rembrandt is a plausible one, since his first phase represents the Dutch matter-of-fact Baroque, while his later work suggests the spiritual emotion of the Baroque. But does he give us the sensuous and decorative side which Rubens presents, and presents with much that Rembrandt gave, though with less of the inwardness of man? Is it just for Mr. Hagen, who is attempting to point out "the genesis of the painting of our day," to omit all but a passing mention of Rubens, who is the source of one of the strongest currents in modern painting? Will his readers agree when, on p. 181, he says, "To-day . . . we have learned how to reduce even such contrasts as the Italian sculptor-architect Bernini and the Dutch *genre*-painter Terborch to a single formula: the formula 'Baroque'?" Certainly this chapter will bear a deal of thinking before it is accepted as written.

In the chapter entitled "Art and Revolution" Mr. Hagen passes rapidly over the eighteenth century and makes (p. 245) the surprising statement that, "In a literal sense, a new art begins with the French Revolution, an art which deliberately abjured all progress painting had made during the foregoing centuries, and went back instead to the beginnings of art. Rousseau's 'let us return to Nature' was the slogan that sent painting spiralling back into the midst of the Primitives. Jacques-Louis David began once more from the beginning." On the next page he informs us that, "The style of the seventeenth century sees things by their retinal impressions, blurs the palpable plastic boundaries of the shape." "Rembrandt and all the Baroque painters see reality not in lines but in more or less blurred patches." It is, to say the least, difficult to reconcile this with Poussin or Rubens, both of whom are Baroque painters under Mr. Hagen's definition of the word. Even less acceptable is the direct statement, on p. 254, that, "There were no linearists in the seventeenth century," and one, on p. 273, that, "There is no spotty style in the sixteenth and no linear style in the seventeenth century." After reading such statements we recognize the wisdom of the author when he says (p. 272), "I am fully conscious that the picture I have sketched is subjectively viewed," but even this does not prevent us from feeling that the evidence has been cut to fit the writer's theory. We are pleasantly surprised, therefore, to find that the treatment of the later nineteenth century is, on the whole, rational and stimulating.

Mr. Hagen is to be congratulated on his illustrations, which have been carefully selected and really "illustrate" the development which he is tracing. It is, therefore, the more regrettable that none of the reproductions are first class and that some—especially numbers 3, 62, 76, 85, 89, 94—are practically worthless.

Certain inconsistencies might be noted, as the use of *right* and *left* on p. 20, line 3, from the point of view of the spectator, while elsewhere it is used from that of the object depicted. *Terribilità* is used on p. 64, line 1, and *terribillà* on p. 116, line 16. *Accademia delle belle arti* appears beneath illustrations 22 and 23, when elsewhere it is *Accademia di belle arti*.

The general make-up of the book is good and misprints are few, but there are an unusual number of dropped letters. The more important of these errors are noted below.

p. 78, line 23—i in Rodin not struck.

p. 94, line 6—the word *the* is repeated.

p. 143, line 29—i in mysticism and i in involved not struck.

p. 145, line 12—i in might not struck—line 25—i in nothing not struck.

p. 251, line 2—a in Corday not struck.

p. 322—under Rubens the reference to p. 255 should be to p. 254.

J. Donald Young

ALCAMENES AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CLASSICAL TYPE IN GREEK ART. By Sir Charles Walston (Waldstein). xx, 254 pp.; 208 illustrations; 24 pls. Cambridge, University Press, 1926.

This is a work the intrinsic value of which it is exceedingly difficult to appraise. It contains many references to the author's numerous earlier writings; and it is in many respects no more than an amplification of his article, *The Establishment of the Classical Type in Greek Art*, published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XLIV, 1924, pp. 223 ff. Whatever the distinguished compiler of *The Argive Heraeum* has written proves stimulating and provocative, and his power to arouse the intellect appears to increase, rather than diminish, with the passage of the years. Sir Charles's former students at the University of Cambridge and the American School at Athens will heartily welcome this return of their master to the archaeological field, from which he has been largely diverted by other studies for nearly twenty years. During this period his ever active mind has been mainly concerned with such subjects as philosophy, art, politics, and international relations.

The vast mass of notes, references, and other material collected by Sir Charles, which he mentions in his preface and elsewhere, seems at some points virtually to have overwhelmed him, and there results a certain confusion of thought that is perplexing to the reader. Sometimes the objectives become all too hazy. Particularly is this noticeable in Part III, Chapter IV. On the other hand, many portions of the book are models of lucidity. But the system of reference employed throughout—partly footnotes, partly parenthetical notes—is exceedingly annoying and appears quite without palliation. The illustrations are numerous, well chosen, and reasonably well reproduced.

The volume is divided into three parts.

Part I consists of a very discerning analysis of the forms of representation of the human body in archaic Greek art. It is pointed out that a certain type—particularly in

relation to the nude male—which the author names "Minoan," persists from Mycenaean times down to the second quarter of the fifth century. This was characterized by the well-known narrow waist, large hips and thighs, and pointed extremities, but especially by the cranial and facial forms—the sloping forehead and long sharp nose which, in profile, appears as a prolongation of the frontal line. From a point above the forehead, the head slopes off somewhat sharply to the rear. In other words, it is essentially the Armenoid type of cranium that is portrayed by the early artist, the form that is seen regularly in the paintings of an artist like Euthymides. In his description of cranial shapes, Sir Charles makes use of the term "facial angle;" but he fails to employ the expression in accordance with the accepted anthropological usage. Since the time of the anthropological "Frankfort Agreement" of 1882, it has been taken to denote the angle made by a line drawn through the skull on the so-called Frankfort Plane, that is, a line drawn from front to rear through the lower margin of the orbit to the upper margin of the acoustic meatus, with a line drawn from the alveolar point of the upper jaw to the nasion. It thus signifies the angular relation of the upper jaw in its entirety to the main lines of the cranium as a whole; and the presence of a large facial angle, even a right angle, would not preclude the possibility of an attendant sloping forehead. What Sir Charles appears to mean by "facial angle" is perhaps the old angle of Camper, the Dutch scholar of the eighteenth century, who was among the first to make a scientific examination of the skull. Or perhaps his norm is merely the frontal angle, the angle formed by a line drawn up along the forehead with one extending from the glabella to the inion. The other angle to which the author refers seems to be the "bregma angle," which similarly expresses the degree of slope of the posterior portion of the skull.

Naturally enough, in a discussion of living forms as portrayed in art, the presence of skin, flesh, and hair on the head renders the task of the critic much more arduous than that of the anthropologist and his findings less accurate. Whatever may be said regarding the terminology employed by Sir Charles, his suggestions are worthy of the closest attention on the part of the student of art. It is unfortunate, however, that he sometimes beclouds the issue by a failure to differentiate the true frontal angle from the angle which a line drawn from the tip of the nose to the uppermost point of the forehead would make with the base line I have mentioned above. That is to say, the frontal angle and the projection of the nose from the plane of the face as a whole constitute two entirely separate matters, and the author, who appears partially at least to appreciate this, has failed to extricate himself from his difficulties here and there by insisting on the question of "nasal length," where his theory of "facial angle" partially or wholly breaks down. One feels that he would have done well, in this connection, to have gone somewhat fully into the question of the Myronic and Polyclitan types of nose.

Part II begins with a brilliant and convincing defense of the assertion of Pausanias that Paenonius sculptured the eastern and Alcamenes the western pedimental groups of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. The author acknowledges

the few errors of Pausanias' description, but passes by without comment (p. 97) a statement of the generally accepted view that the Periegete has mistaken Heracles for Atlas in the metope group of the eastern end of the temple. He has apparently not noticed the article of Professor Murley (*Class. Phil.*, XIX, 1924, pp. 365 ff.), who has clearly shown that the error lies with the modern commentators, who have accepted the word *Φόρημα* as unquestionably meaning the heavens, whereas it signifies the apples.

In the critical study of the Olympian sculptures, which forms the greater portion of Part II, Sir Charles points out certain essential differences between the composition and the details of the two pedimental groups. Ultimately the theory is postulated that with regard to the works of Alcámenes on the western end, "a form of Classical Type is here introduced for the first time and . . . the line between these two pediments marks the watershed in that establishment of Type." Here is established by Alcámenes the cranial norm, as we may express it, which has dominated subsequent plastic art. But the archaic element persists to the extent of the presence of a slightly sloping forehead and a longish nose, together with minor peculiarities. Phidias and Polyclitus, howbeit, perfected a certain modification of this type which is denominated the "Argive-Attic." It is characterized, from the point of view of the cranium, by a very square shape of head, a "facial angle" of ninety degrees, and a short, perpendicular nose. The author ventures to suggest that the Alcámenes type may perhaps be indicative of the Ionic race, the Argive-Attic of the Doric. He has wisely not pressed the point. The anthropological ice which is here trodden upon is all too thin: when the additional element of art convention is added, the margin of safety for the experimenter is reduced to zero. Recent craniometrical examinations of various Greek skulls seem to prove that villages of peoples so widely differentiated ethnologically as to merit the names of brachycephals and dolichocephals existed within sight of one another in historical times!

Another peculiarity which Sir Charles finds in the art of Alcámenes as it manifests itself in the western pediment is a predominance of the "profile-view," the partial turning of the heads of the statues to one side, as in the case of the great middle figure of Apollo.

Part III is concerned with the identification of extant sculptures as copies of works by Alcámenes. It is the least satisfying part of the volume, and the part which most exposes itself to assaults from all quarters. Sir Charles, who has found himself up to this point in partial agreement with Schrader regarding the attribution of the Olympian sculptures, here parts company with that scholar. He likewise shuns Furtwängler, but cleaves fast to Brunn.

The positive attribution, through its inscription, of the original of the Pergamene Hermes to Alcámenes would seem to call for a lengthy examination of this work and its various copies; but the author dismisses the whole subject in a few pages; and in reading his analysis, plausible as it is, we have the uneasy feeling that he is explaining away the whole matter, inasmuch as it does not well fit into his scheme.

Furtwängler's theory of the Phidian authorship of the original of the so-called Lemnian Athena has received many severe buffets from time to time. Sir Charles confidently associates the statue with Alcámenes on the basis of the pose and the "facial angle," though the latter point seems here to grant only the support of the proverbial broken reed. To connect the Venus Genetrix of the Louvre and its many copies (of which one is now in New York, another in Toronto) with the noted "Aphrodite in the Gardens" of Alcámenes, finds no favor in the sight of our author. He finds the type of the latter more clearly exemplified in the Aphrodite of Melos and even in the "Girl with the Cap," the fine bronze statuette in Munich, of which a beautiful photograph, much superior to any of Sir Charles's illustrations, has recently been published in this journal by Professor D. M. Robinson (*The Art Bulletin*, V, pl. XLV; cf. pp. 109, 110). However, so famous a statue as the Aphrodite in the Gardens must have been repeatedly copied in antiquity.

Alcámenes are also, in the author's view, such works as the Standing Discobolus of the Vatican and the fine marble statuette of Heracles in Boston, as well as a magnificent bronze ephebe discovered at Pompeii last year (1926). The recently found head of Zeus of Cyrene and the well-known Boston Zeus he regards as modified copies of the Zeus of Phidias. Both faces, without question, show the Argive-Attic angle.

Strangely enough, Myron, whose influence on Greek athletic art is becoming increasingly manifest, is hardly mentioned in the book. Praxiteles is regarded by Sir Charles as the receiver of the cloak of Alcámenes. I have elsewhere ventured the contrary suggestion (*A. J. A.*, XXIX, 1925, p. 75) that Praxiteles probably belongs to the Ageladas-Myron-Cresilas line of descent.

A few small errors are to be found here and there. The lack of a comma on p. 78, after the name *Curius*, leads to a rather disastrous result. Of the American scholars, Dinsmoor and Caskey, the name of the former is misspelled on p. 92, and the latter has a wrong initial on p. 205. There are also misspellings of *onihemion* (p. 205), *Alcmaeonidae* (p. 145 and index), and *Erichthonius* (index). One wonders if the term *volut-krafer*, used several times, is genuine English, and why the author repeatedly refers to the mother of Apollo and Artemis as *Leitho*. On p. 182, we should read 421-420, and alter the old-fashioned reference to *CIA*. The word *relief* has somehow been omitted from the description of pl. IX. Nicosthenes should no longer be referred to as a vase-painter; and it is strange that Sir Charles persists in stating that the Mantinea reliefs are "undoubtedly by Praxiteles," "as definitely stated by Pausanias." Dickins and others have demonstrated that Praxiteles himself had little to do with the reliefs, and Pausanias in his notice of them (VIII, 9, 1), is very far from being explicit.

But these, as a reviewer once wrote in a moment of mental confusion, are but flea-bites in the midst of an ocean of excellence.

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HANDBUCH DER KUNSTGESCHICHTE, V, DIE KUNST VON 1800 BIS ZUR GEGENWART. By Anton Springer. Ninth edition revised and enlarged by Max Osborn. xiv, 539 pp.; 653 figs.; 36 pls. Leipzig, Alfred Kröner, 1925. M. 24.

The ninth edition of volume V of Springer's popular manual completes the recent revision of the whole history. The twelfth edition of volume I (*Das Altertum*), edited by Paul Wolters, appeared in 1923 (see my review in *A. J. P.*, XLVI, 1925, pp. 89 f.); the twelfth edition of volume II (*Frühchristliche Kunst und Mittelalter*), edited by Joseph Neuwirth, and of volume III (*Die Kunst der Renaissance in Italien*), edited by Georg Gronau, both came out in 1924; and the eleventh of volume IV (*Die Kunst der Renaissance im Norden, Barock und Rococo*), edited by Paul Schubring, in 1923 (see my review of II-IV in *A. J. A.*, XXIX, 1925, pp. 451 f.).

The present volume originated in Springer's *Textbuch zur Kunst des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, first published in 1880-1881. Long after Professor Springer's death, in 1891, the preparation of a third edition was entrusted to Dr. Max Osborn, of Berlin, the well-known historian of modern art and literature and since 1894 editor of the *Jahresbericht für neuere deutsche Literatur-Geschichte*. This third edition, which appeared in 1906, twenty-two years after the second edition of the *Textbuch*, was added under the title *Das neunzehnte Jahrhundert* as a concluding volume to the older *Handbuch*. It was essentially a new book: the third and last section of its predecessor, dealing with the period from 1850 onwards, was replaced by a new text divided into two sections, 1850-1870 and 1870-1900, and the earlier chapters especially those on German art, were rewritten on the basis of the editor's earlier book *Die deutsche Kunst im XIX. Jahrhundert* (Berlin, 1901). All subsequent editions have been prepared by Dr. Osborn: the fourth in 1907, the fifth in 1908, the sixth in 1912, the seventh in 1919, etc. Most of them were little more than reprints. But the fifth was expanded, notably the parts on Austrian and South German art, and three color plates were added. In the seventh edition a fifth section was added to include the early years of the twentieth century, and this necessitated the present title. The ninth edition is considerably revised and the last section brought into harmony with contemporary criticism. It contains, besides many more illustrations than its predecessors, a wholly new feature in its appended bibliography.

The text falls into chronological divisions, as follows: 1750-1819 (39 pages), from the beginnings of Classicism in the eighteenth century to the rise of Romanticism and the early period of Cornelius; 1819-1850 (80 pages), from Cornelius and the older Munich and Düsseldorf schools to the end of the Classical and Romantic tendencies in Germany; 1850-1870 (151 pages), the "new program"—with an account of the English painters, the French Realists, the awakening of color in Germany, and the resurrection of the historic styles in sculpture, architecture, and applied arts, both in Europe and America; 1870-1900 (199 pages), Impressionism in France and its spread elsewhere; 1900-1925 (64 pages), the replacement of Impressionism by the new tendencies exemplified in the work and influence of Cézanne, Van Gogh, Munch, Gauguin, Matisse, Hodler, and the proponents of Expressionism, Futurism, and Cubism. Topical convenience is judiciously

allowed at times to interfere with strict chronology. Thus Van Gogh, though he died in 1890, is put with artists of the twentieth century.

In so ambitious an undertaking as the presentation within the limits of a handy volume of the various artistic tendencies and achievements of many countries for over a century, only a representative selection was possible. Though no two critics would always agree as to what is representative, most would agree with Dr. Osborn in laying the emphasis on the last half of the nineteenth century. Many would find the treatment of South German art too extended, and that of Italian art prior to the last quarter century too brief. Though the book is written for German readers and therefore details the artistic movements of Germany, and stresses German achievement, so judiciously is the whole development since 1800 outlined, so clear and fair is the exposition, and so excellent is the choice of material, that it would be impossible to accuse the author of nationalistic prejudice.

On the other hand, we Americans are nationalistic enough to look with curiosity to see how Dr. Osborn has appraised art in the United States. With American collections of European art he seems quite unacquainted, as one example will show: in the many pages devoted to the work of recent French painters he makes no mention of the superb collection of paintings by Cézanne, Renoir, Matisse, and others at the Barnes Foundation, Merion, Pa. He does not mention the American commissions of foreign artists, such as Frank Brangwyn's new decorations in the Missouri State Capitol, or the staircase in the Boston Public Library decorated by Puvion de Chavannes in 1895-1898, which is thus illustrative of the artist's last period, when he was able to transcend all realistic vision. There is a brief summary of American painting and graphic arts (pp. 367-369), for the most part a mere catalogue of names, but with an analysis of the work of Whistler, who is praised as a "phenomenon of international character, who in fact combined in himself all the last subtleties of modern painting." Of his work three examples are illustrated (Portrait of Carlyle, Valparaiso, and the etching *In Venice*); only five illustrations are given for all the other artists mentioned (Inness' *Autumn Morning*, Hitchcock's *Maternity*, Sargent's *El Jaleo*, Shannon's *Offering*, and Pennell's etching *The Four-story House*). Sargent is called "one of the best living portraitists," but no example of his portraiture is cited, nor any mention made of his mural decorations in Boston (Public Library and Museum of Fine Arts). The only American sculptor named at all is Saint-Gaudens, who is rightly called the most important, though nothing is said of his works. American architecture is slighted also. The Capitol at Washington is inevitably given as an example of Classicism, but one looks in vain for our finest example of that style, the recent Lincoln Memorial, by Bacon. The solitary example illustrated of the peculiarly American product in architecture, the "sky-scraper," is the Equitable Building, New York, by Graham. One would have confidently expected the Woolworth Building, by Gilbert, and some selection from a dozen or more beautiful structures in New York and other American cities. Dr. Osborn was probably unfamiliar with the most recent development, the combination of worship and business, as in the

Broadway Temple, New York, by Barber, and in the more impressive Chicago Temple, by Holabird and Roche. He has also failed to refer to important contemporary religious architecture here and in England, as the Episcopal Cathedral of St. John the Divine at New York and Liverpool Cathedral, with their fine mingling of mediaeval and modern elements, which place them among the most interesting buildings of our time. There is more justification for the total exclusion of recent war memorials, most of which serve the needs of local patriotism without any claim to beauty, but such exceptions as the memorial by Sir Edwin Luytens in Whitehall, London, or that at

Paisley, Scotland, where the architect Sir Robert Lorimer and the sculptor Mrs. Meredith Williams have harmoniously coöperated, are deserving of mention.

The illustration of this as of the other volumes of Springer's manual are excellent. The figures are usually placed near the relative text and averaging, as they do, more than one to a page, they encourage even the most indifferent reader. Apart from its text the book is valuable as a collection of illustrations, including fine colored plates, of modern art and as such should appeal even to those who read little or no German.

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